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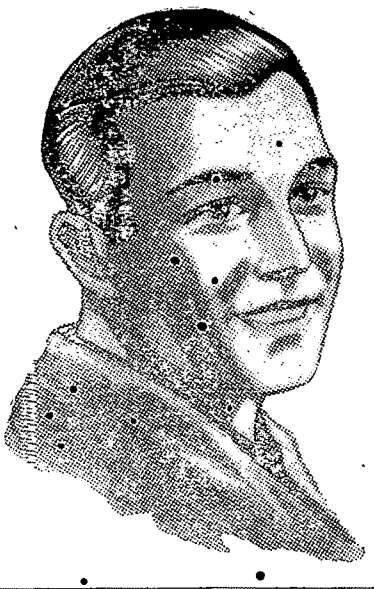

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1940

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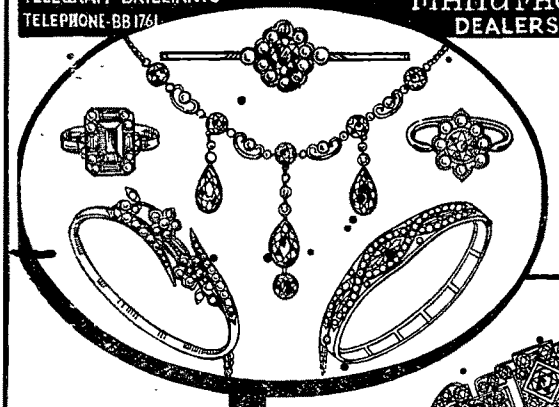

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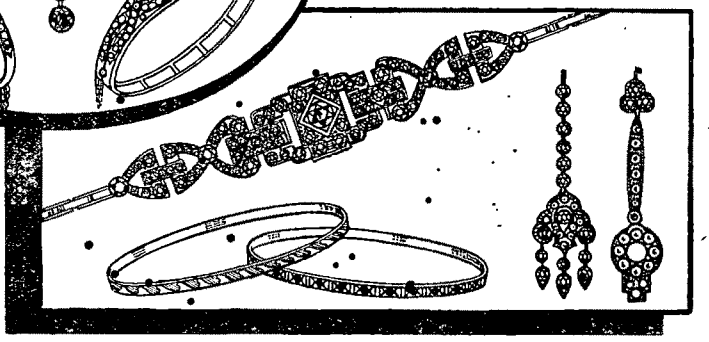

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SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RAY, KT.

IX

IMPERSONALITY OF SHAKESPEARE *(continued)*

IN the previous article the present writer proposed to read through a few important plays of Shakespeare with a view to seeing how far the suggestion that Shakespeare's personality is truly manifest in his writings appears to be tenable. One has not to go through all the pieces Shakespeare could produce but may profitably pick out a few, say four or five, of his three dozen and one dramas. Let us begin with *Hamlet* which, during the past three centuries and odd, has supplied hundreds of critics sufficient materials to excogitate a number theories.

Stationer's register enters the play under date July 26, 1602 and it must have been composed between 1598 and 1602. The actual date is controversial but is important so far as the present topic is concerned, as will presently appear.

Let us consider, then, in some detail the probable date of the play. Gabriel Harvey referred to the play in his marginal notes in

a copy of Speght's *Chaucer* published in 1598. The actual date on which the entry might have been made has been the subject of much criticism and scholars have interpreted the language of this entry in more than one way. Their conclusions, no doubt, have been vitiated by too many assumptions, *too many perhapses, might have beens* and *in all probabilities*, but in all fairness any intelligent reader will have to skim out a passable theory from the huge mass of facts that have accumulated.

The present writer would like to refer in this connection to the theory proposed by Prof. F. S. Boas in his *Shakespeare and the Universities*. The concluding lines are quoted here, " The more closely Harvey's references are examined the weightier is the cumulative evidence that it was in or about 1598 that he spoke of Hamlet and Lucrece as having it in them 'to please the wiser sort.' " So, the date of Hamlet cannot but be 1598 or a bit earlier.

It has been claimed that *Hamlet* abounds in personal and topical touches of Shakespeare, who usually took scrupulous care not to give vent to his personal feelings. This play has been claimed to be the masterpiece of our poet and has been called the 'national drama' of England. This was extremely popular with the theatre-going public and was—nay is—regarded even to-day as the best closet-play, notwithstanding the fact that in the general tone the play is the " most contemplative " of Shakespeare's plays. *Hamlet* does not manifest the broad optimism which we could expect from the writer of *King John* and it lacks in the passion of Romeo, still the general mass of readers have expressed their highest appreciation of the piece.

Malone had tried to explain the reasons of Shakespeare's assumed gloominess in the piece, and the succeeding critics have generally echoed him. It has been claimed that the man Shakespeare's domestic affairs checked the pen of Shakespeare the playwright and metamorphosed the frolicking comedian into a gloomy tragedian. A number of family and private circumstances have been put forward to serve as the background of Shakespeare's mental state when he engaged himself to depict a colourful history of the Prince of Denmark. Let us see what were the events that influenced the dramatist so far, so that the whole tone of his acknowledged masterpiece had been one of decided gloominess.

The chain of events extends from the year 1596 and is dragged up to 1601. In 1596 Shakespeare's only son Hamnet, a boy of about 12 years, expired. John Shakespeare died in 1601 and in the same year Robert Deverraux, Earl of Essex, was sentenced to capital punishment on a charge of high treason. Henry Wriothlessly, Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron and friend, was imprisoned for abbetting Essex and, all these taken together, surely depressed the dramatist and apparently sharpened his pensive pen. According to Herford these events in Shakespeare's personal life have lent fervour to Hamlet's outbursts of grief and of friendship.

The question of the date of its composition comes up here. If we accept Boas's view, which the present writer finds no reason to discard, the question of the death of the poet's father and the misfortunes of his patrons do not come up for consideration at all. The ingenious theory put forward by personality-mongers, consequently, falls through. In order to scrutinize the theory we are accepting the date of the composition of *Hamlet* sometime between 1598 and 1601.

We have now to decide, therefore, what effect the death of Hamlet might have made upon our poet's mind. The death of his only son certainly affected him too much and it sounds quite fitting if his pathos had found some expression in his writings. But circumstantial evidence clearly proves that he was not too much moved. Certainly any affectionate father would groan at this sudden and unbearable stroke of providence, but an ambitous seeker of fortune barely 32 years of age should not take 6 long years to recover. That Shakespeare did not actually take such a long time to recover is amply evident from actual facts.

In 1596, an application was made by John Shakespeare for a coat of arms; certainly our poet had full knowledge of the fact and in all liklihood he had to finance the scheme of raising the family to the status of gentry. How is this fact compatible with the theory that broken-hearted Shakespeare took up his pen to perpetuate his feeling of grief and sorrow, simultaneously aspiring to make his worldly position secure?. It has been observed in a previous issue[1] that the year 1598 is a landmark in Shakespearian history. How can we say that a poet in his gloomy state of mind extending for a number of years had been striving with all sincerity to make himself

[1] *Calcutta Review*, January, 1940.

prosperous and known and was taking all interest in a new-playhouse of which he became a founder-partner.[1] Shakespeare's name first began to appear in the published plays from the year 1598 and there are unquestionable records to prove that Shakespeare himself appeared on the board occasionally if not regularly up to the year 1603.[2] The sign of his worldly prosperity, namely, the purchase of the New Place, the best house in the town of Stratford, was made in the year 1599. All the facts taken together are sufficiently convincing to do away with the theory of gloom enunciated by the indefatigable Malone and developed by the psychologist Dowden who has attempted to trace the growth of the mind of Shakespeare with reference to his art. True it is that Southampton was his friend and patron and ill-fated Essex was a friend to Southampton. Shakespeare was much interested in Essex whom he refers to directly in his drama *Henry V*. There is no doubt that the turn of events resulting in the capital punishment of Essex and imprisonment of Southampton coupled with the death of his aged father depressed him much. Despair and dejection might have tinctured his youthful mind, but how can we assume that this agony and grief of the poet's outward world found expression in his creation too? Thorndike refuses to believe it and adduces the following reason for his doing so:

"Shakespeare must have lived and enjoyed and suffered intensely; but this does not commit us to a belief in an immediate turning to account of personal experience in the writing of drama. His boy, Hamnet, died in 1596, about the time that he was writing *The Merchant of Venice* and the rollicking farce of *The Taming of the Shrew*, and just before he conceived Falstaff; it was fourteen years later that he gave us the pathetic figure of the young Mamillius in *The Winter's Tale*. From all we know of his personal life, the years of *King Lear* and *Othello* were years of abounding prosperity." . . . .

The present writer is slow to accept the theory of gloom and confidently believes that *Hamlet* has been the history of Shakespeare's brooding hours snatched out from the world of sorrow and mirth. If there is any melancholy tone in *Hamlet*, it is surely not due to his outward grief, be that so severe as the death of the only son, but simply due to the fact that at spare moments Shakespeare's heart caught

[1] 'The Theatre' of Burbadges was demolished and the Globe was erected by several of the party in 1599. Shakespeare was one of the co-sharers.

[2] Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* was played in 1603, and Shakespeare took part in the performance. *Every Man in his Humour* was played in 1598. Shakespeare, as Ben Jonson records in his Folio edition, was one among the players.

the contagion of the world's miseries perceptible here, there, and everywhere. The hidden philosopher in the comedian liked to dilate upon them and to soliloquise on every suitable occasion. Prince Hamlet is this philosopher, rapid in theorising, slow in action; desperate in promising and deliberate in withholding. This is never the Shakespeare of the Globe and hailing from Stratford—this is the Shakespeare retiring after the day's toil and reposing on the armchair with the most penetrating question:

> "To be or not to be, that is the question:
> Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
> The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
> Or to take arms against a sea of troubles
> And by opposing end them?"

The brooding philosopher is now free to soliloquise and goes on meditating:

> "..... there's the respect
> That makes calamity of so long life,
> For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
> The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
> The pangs of despised love, the law's delay,
> The insolence of office and the spurns
> That patient merit of the unworthy takes,
> When he himself might his quietus make
> With a bare bodkin?"

—and calls his audience to "see what I see."

The fine coincidence between the names of Hamnet and Hamlet has, indeed, served as a weapon in the hands of the personality-hunters among the critics. In considering this coincidence we must not forget that Hamnet Shakespeare was born in the year 1585 when William Shakespeare was walking up and down the streets of Stratford and did not dream of writing the history of the Danish prince for the enjoyment of the English people.

Is there no sign of Shakespeare's personality in *Hamlet* then? Certainly there are a few and that unmistakably. Hamlet's enquiry about the players of the city has been answered not by Rosencrantz but by the poet himself and we can surely take it as Shakespeare's connection with the war of the theatres,[1] of which no other positive record remains.

1. The dialogue has already been quoted on a previous occasion. See *Calcutta Review*, April, 1940, p. 3.

Shakespeare's advice to the clown is significantly personal. As an author he had to see that all the parts do get due development in the hands of those who represent the individual parts but that was not to be and in much despair and disgust the poet uttered his caution for the players:

"Let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them: For there be of them that will themselves laugh to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too."

We must not forget that the general performance was a 'two hours traffic' and the groundlings more encouraged by clown by *en cours* at the cost of the serious parts of the play. The author cannot support the groundlings and takes an opportunity to advise the actors in the art of representation.

Critics are unanimous in regarding *The Tempest* as one of Shakespeare's latest plays, if it be not the last. It is accepted to have been written sometime in 1611 and Shakespeare personally did not write any other book after that date. The poet had, by this time, accumulated sufficient wealth and intended to return to his native place. The din and bustle of the growing city could not attract him any more and when he could know for certain that he was no longer a poor man, the son of an obscure bailiff threatened with imprisonment for debts, he did not like to put up in London. He wanted to go to his native place where he could pass the remaining years of his life comfortably and with ease.

Before going back to Stratford, his native place, Shakespeare produced *The Tempest* and it would be quite fitting to the occasion if Shakespeare would inform his numerous admirers the intention of his doing so. In Elizabethan society the custom of according farewell parties did not exist as it exists to-day and consequently there was very little chance for the poet to address his friends and admirers except from the board, the words of parting coming out of the lips of others. In all fairness then the speech of Prospero[1] beginning with "Ye elves of hills," etc., and ending in:

But this rough magic
I here abjure; and when I have required
Some heavenly music, which even now I do,

[1] Act V. Sc. I.

To work mine end upon their senses that
This airy charm is for, I will break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And, deeper than did ever plummet sound
I'll drown my book.

—would represent the retiring poet's personal feeling. Brandes says:

". . . Prospero is not Shakespeare, but the play is in a certain measure autobiographical. . . . It shows us more than anything else what the discipline of life had made of Shakespeare at fifty—a fruit too fully matured to be suffered to hand much longer on the tree."

But the situation does not warrant the assumption. There is absolutely no record to show that the speech moved any of the audience and what reason could we find that the dramatist would make a parting speech of self-adulation while his audience would remain silent? Moreover the situation of the play demands some such speech from the Duke of magicians who regains his lost dukedom at Milan, his only daughter finding a happy and desirable match. Prospero's retirement from the world of magic is as inevitable as was his entrance. We may compare this with the entrance and exit of Shakespeare into and from the dramatic world but we can by no means assume this to be entirely personal. In the Epilogue Prospero declares—

"Now my charms are all o'erthrown,
And what strength I have's my own;
Which is not faint: now 'tis true,
I must be here confined by you,
Or sent to Naples. Let me not,
Since I have my dukedom got
And pardon'd the deceiver, dwell
In this bare Island by your spell;
But release me from my bands
With the help of your good hands."

If we are to take it as personal we have to assume that Shakespeare considered himself out-of-date and out-of-interest. His powers, *according to himself*, were failing him; but is there any reason to believe like that? The present writer thinks—no, there's no reason to believe that. Let us quote here a line from Dr. Schelling who, along with

others, shares the same view—namely, Shakespeare's picture of Prospero is least personal and most artistic.

"To those who recognise the larger nature of drama, who can grasp the idea of an art higher than that of an egoist, in the power of the true dramatic poet to thrill with a responsive sympathy for the emotion of any one of his personages, however differently situated in life and feeling from himself there is no need to interpret Prospero (nor any other of the characters that crowd his pages) as a projection of Shakespeare himself into his creative work."[1]

There is no good in multiplying instances like this. Before concluding this article the present writer should draw the attention of his readers to a particular trait of Shakespeare's pen, *viz.*, the non-committal way of putting things which will serve as fit subjects for volumes of harrangues. A single instance may suffice. In *2 Henry IV*, we have, when the rebels meet the King's party, *viz.*, Prince John Lancaster, Earl of Westmoreland, in the forest we find Lord Mowbray promising 'to try fortunes to the last man.' But the deceitful and crafty Bolinbroke brings the rebellion to an end. Let us quote a few incidental lines.

Prince John promises to redress the grievances of the rebel Lords and gives his word of honour:

> "My lord, these griefs shall be with speed redressed
> Upon my soul, they shall. If this may please you,
> Discharge your powers unto their several counties,
> As we will ours: And here between the armies
> Let's drink together friendly and embrace,
> That all their eyes may bear those tokens home
> Of our restored love and amity."

The assurance was taken on its face value and Lord Hastings ordered to disperse their army. In a few minutes Hastings returned with the news:

> "My Lord, our army is dispersed already:
> Like youthful steers unyoked, they take their courses
> East, West, North, South; or like a school broke up,
> Each hurries toward his home and sporting place."

[1] *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare*, p. 413.

Westmoreland replies:

> "Good tidings, My Lord Hastings; for the which
> I do arrest thee, traitor, of high treason;
> And you, Lord Archbishop, and you Lord Mowbray,
> Of capital treason I attach you both."

Mowbray enquires and gets the following answer:

> "Mowbary. Is this proceeding just and honourable?
> West. Is your assembly so?"

What is to be particularly noticed here is that Shakespeare says not a single word though there is ample opportunity to speak much. The characters speak themselves and just as much as the situation demands.

A poet of so reserved a temperament cannot be expected to give a life history of his and the assertion that the missing biography of Shakespeare can be got up from his dramas cannot thus be regarded as tenable.

In conclusion the present writer would draw the attention of his readers to the following noted lines of Carlyle in support of the theory that the greatest poet of human passion was apt to conceal his own in his writings, and succeeded in bewildering the critics of all times and all nations in catching hold of *Shakespeare the Man*:

"I cannot call this Shakespeare a 'Sceptic,' as some do; his indifference to the creeds and theological quarrels of his time misleading them. No: neither unpatriotic though he says little about his Patriotism; nor sceptic, though he says little about his Faith. Such 'indifference' was the fruit of his greatness withal: his whole heart was in his own grand sphere of worship (we may call it such); these other controversies, vitally important to other men, were not vital to him."[2]

In his article 'Elizabethan Shakespeare,' J. D. Wilson echoes the same view, namely, that "Shakespeare conceals nothing and condemns nothing." How can we, then, mark out this sentence, that line, and those passages as his sincere attitude towards a particular event? Is he not an impartial recorder of facts and a faithful delineator of the human mind for all times to come? The present writer would like to answer, yes he is, and there remains the least doubt for that. He is strictly impersonal in his dramatic works and whatever he speaks

through the characters of his creation are but words which would be quite natural and fitting to the occasion. The poet is absent in the assemblage of his characters who speak, act and dance according as they wish. To quote Prof. Minto, " For all his presumable moodiness Shakespeare would seem to have never composed but in one mood—the mood of dramatic impartiality. Nobody has been able to detect in his character any strong bias of opinions held dogmatically by himself. . . . One of his characters explains away prophecy, another rationalises presentiments, a third declares that miracles are ceased and that we can admit only natural means: Yet ghosts walk in his dramas, men are haunted by evil forebodings and calamities are heralded by monstrous portents. It is vain to look for consistent opinions where the dramatist's principle is to embody men of all shades with strict impartiality in their exact form and pressure.' [1]

(To be continued)

[1] *Characteristics of English Poets*, p. 273.

THE CONGRESS AND THE PROLETARIAT

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I WELL remember how in the past, the one criticism, and it was a just criticism, levelled with deadly effect against the Indian National Congress was that it had no touch with the masses and that the demands for political powers it put forward from time to time had not popular sanction behind it. Reactionary British officialdom was always prepared not only to defy it but to treat its views with the utmost contempt. Things have altered since that time and this change we owe to Mahatma Gandhi. His greatest achievement in the political field has been that he has succeeded in converting a political movement confined to a limited number of intellectuals into a mass movement.

Providence has endowed him with the very valuable gift of divining the popular sentiment at any particular moment, and a rare statesmanship teaching him how to use it to the best advantage of our motherland. The conversion of a small into a mass movement was possible only because he insisted on the needs and demands of the hungry, naked and sick millions of India and he did this as no one else before had done it. The middle class was there already and this brought the Kisan (agriculturist) and the Mazdoor (industrial worker) inside the Congress. I propose in this article to discuss the attitude of the Congress towards the cultivator and the industrial worker.

KISHAN ORGANISATIONS AND THE CONGRESS

In order to understand why the Kishan organisation has achieved such importance in the political sphere, we have to realise the conditions under which the peasant of India has been living for generations. All his wealth consists of the cheap metal jewellery of his womenfolk, a few brass utensils when he happens to possess any, at most a couple of half-starved, undersized bullocks and a leaky hut. He is half-starved and his diet is extremely monotonous.

Vegetables and animal food whether in the form of fish or meat, he may taste only on rare occasions. If he has milch cattle, he has to sell his dairy products. He is clad in a few rags and has little protection against the bitter chill of winter.

The peasant has to work from morning to night during the sowing and harvesting seasons and to remain hungry and idle for the rest of the year. Schools are far off and his children have to do what they can to increase the earnings of the family. Medical relief and sanitation he has none. Living under such circumstances, it is no wonder that the average expectation of life is not more than 23 years as compared with that of Great Britain, which rules us and where it is not less than 48 years.

When the crop is ready for harvesting, the money-lender attaches it or, in order to satisfy his landlord, he is forced to sell it without being able to wait for better prices. He starves and is forced to borrow in order to keep the body and soul together and to carry on agricultural operations. Recognising all these factors which are working against him, the Royal Agricultural Commission stated "No one desires to witness a continuation of a system under which people are born in debt, live in debt and die in debt, passing on their burden to those who follow". But this is inevitable in view of the fact that his earning are very low. A Government Committee of Enquiry in 1931, stated that the average income of an agriculturist worked out at a little over £3 a year which means less than two pence a day. It is not even enough to feed a man. How much can he save out of it in order to pay his creditor? The result is semi-starvation, lack of resistive capacity to desease and early death. This was recognised by Mr. Purcell, a Member of the House of Commons, when he said in 1928 "The trouble with India is a stomach trouble". Things have come to such a pass that one who produces grain is starving himself and the grower of cotton goes naked though he supplies not only the cotton mills of India but also those of Japan.

This brings us to the question of the exact position of the Zeminder in the economy of Indian life and his relations with the Kisan. There is evidence to show that, in ancient India, the land belonged to the village community and also that during the days of Musalman political predominance, the Zeminder was nothing but a tax collector. Under the British, however, he has become a Landlord. There is more than enough proof which would justify

any fairminded man to hold that, with honourable exceptions, the Landlords as a class have abused their position of privilege. Exorbitant rents have been exacted by many of them most unjustifiably. I have heard of cases specially in Upper India where tenants have been mercilessly beaten, movable property attached which is not at all uncommon and even the women-folk treated in a disgraceful manner, all in order that the Kisan might be compelled to pay the dues of his Landlord to the very last pie. The natural consequence has been a bitter class antagonism between the Zeminder and the Kisan.

Here, as elsewhere, Mahatma Gandhi took the lead. The Satyagraha campaigns carried on under his Leadership at Champaran in Bihar and Bardoli in Gujerat put heart into the Indian peasant. To-day one very rarely meets the typical fatalistic down-trodden Kisan in any of the provinces where Congress Government had been set up. He has come to realise his strength when properly organised.

Thus in August, 1937, about half a lakh peasants from all over Bihar marched to Patna with red flags and Congress flags to make their demands. In November, the same year, there was another demonstration made by one lakh Kisans. In the U.P., in February, 1938, 60,000 peasants marched to Lucknow and dispersed only after they had been addressed by Premier Pant and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. None of these was marked by rowdyism in any form which surely proves how these people have imbibed a sense of discipline.

An agrarian programme had been called for at the Lucknow Session of the Congress in 1936, but in 1937 when the Congress met at Faizpur, a village in the Bombay Presidency, a 13-point comprehensive scheme for the amelioration of the peasantry was agreed to. The one thing which stands out is that in this programme no reference is made to the abolition of the Zemindari system.

During the election to the Provincial Legislative Assemblies, Leftists devoted themselves to the task of organising Kisan Sabhas both in the U.P., and in Bihar. In the U.P., the Congress finds supporters chiefly among the lower middle class and in Bihar among the landholding classes. The organising of Kisan Sabhas in the two provinces is significant as it opens a new chapter in the history of democracy in India where, for the first time, we find the poorest classes taking an active interest in politics through the medium of their own class organisations. When the Congress came into

office, the peasant expected a new Heaven and a new Earth at once, for had he not sent his own men to the assemblies ?

When his hopes did not meet with immediate fulfilment people, by no means friendly to the Congress Ministers, were ready to exploit the Kisan. He was instructed not to pay his rent and thus to turn the weapon which he had learnt to use from the Congress against itself. He was warned that if he did so, before the laws were altered, he could be ejected by the Landlord and no one, not even the Ministers, could help him. It was at this time that there was some wild talk about liquidating Landlordism without compensation and this, too, I believe, was a suggestion put forward merely to embarrass the Congress cabinets. The Kisans apparently did not care to remember that the Congress contains all elements from extreme right to extreme left which have combined for the attainment of a definite aim—the economic and political freedom of India. It is not thus in a position to enact purely socialistic measures or to attempt the liquidation of the Landlord class—a policy to which the Congress had never pledged itself. With an increase in the tempo of the Kisan movement, and the consequent pressure exerted on it by its followers, the leaders of the peasant agitation grew impatient at the slowness of the Congress pace which they ascribed to the influence exerted on the cabinets by the landlord class. Some colour was lent to this view by the so-called inadequacy of the relief afforded to the peasants by the legislative measures put through by the Congress cabinets.

There has undoubtedly been a certain amount of bitterness over this difference of opinion. Those who are not friendly to our national organisation would like to see an ever-widening breach between the Rightist party which has supported the ministers in all Congress provinces and the Kisan group. This would mean a loss of influence and popularity and was expected even to lead ultimately to the fall of Congress ministers. Some of them even anticipated that the matter would be thrashed out in the Haripura Session and an irreparable breach eventuate between the two wings of the Congress. What actually happened was quite different. A resolution was passed which laid down the principle that peasant organisations must regard themselves as subsidiary to the Congress. The Kisan leaders reiterated their loyalty to the Congress ideals and their adherence to its programme. The Congress committees

were requested to redouble their efforts to improve the condition of the Kisans. In this way a crisis was averted. In the meantime, legislative measures beneficial to the peasants but not calculated to uproot the Zemindari system were passed in Bihar, and the U.P. ministry before its resignation was also proposing to do something similar for its own Kisans.

It is difficult to say whether the Kisan movement will ultimately go against the Congress because of its unwillingness to enact expropriatory laws. As yet, there are not a sufficient number of the proper type of leaders to form a government. I do not also believe that India, conservative as it is by nature, will favour extreme measures. But we can all well appreciate, and sympathise with, the eagerness with which the peasants are dreaming of a change for the better in their condition and it is not at all unnatural for them to look for it from those of their countrymen who had held out such hopes to them in the event of their coming to political power.

Industrial Labour and the Congress

During the Great War, imports were restricted as shipping was engaged in transporting troops, materials, and food. There appeared an insistent demand for manufactured goods inside, and of raw materials outside, India. The result was a vast increase of Indian capitalism. Factories sprang up all over India and the demand for labour increased by leaps and bounds. Workmen acquired self-confidence, became vocal and made their demands putting pressure on their employers by organising strikes. The influenza epidemic of 1918 which caused 8 million deaths in India thinned the ranks of labour and the demand for it keener. Capitalists were making immense profits ; for instance more than a dozen large Jute mills in Bengal paid dividends of 200 per cent. and over. Employers in view of the immense profits they were making had no desire that their output should be diminished and therefore made concessions generally in the form of what are called dearness allowances.

Then came the depression and a falling-off in the demand for labour. Efforts were made to reduce the remuneration of labour which led to a number of strikes. The attempt to " rationalise " in Bombay, in 1928, led to a strike which involved 65,000

workmen. In the strikes which took place during this period, the police had occasionally to resort not only to repressive measures carried on, according to its critics, vindictively but also to firing. The natural consequence was that nearly all the unions came under the influence of the Left. It was at this time that the Royal Commission on Labour was appointed. The report of this Commission has thrown a flood of light on the condition of industrial labour in India. The wages paid, the housing conditions, the exploitation practised make it a harrowing account to read. Here and there and specially in the larger and better organised industries, there have undoubtedly been improvements but things are nearly as bad as before in the case of the smaller industries. Legislation aimed at ameliorating the condition of labour has been passed here and there but it has not satisfied the people sought to be benefited.

There has undoubtedly been a closer co-operation between labourers and the Congress the last few years than ever before. This has been due to the growth of radicalism inside its ranks. The Congress manifesto had stated that " in regard to industrial workers, the policy of the Congress is to secure for them a standard of living, hours of work and conditions of labour... suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment and the right to strike for the protection of their interests." The undertaking, naturally not very definite, was regarded by industrial labour as the goal which would be attained as soon as the Congress was in power. Therefore when it assumed office in 1937, they thought that their troubles were over or nearly over. But they were greatly disappointed when Sj. Rajendra Prasad said publicly " so long as Congress is not in full power, it must adopt the line of ameliorative programme...to embark on a radical programme till that power is achieved is hazardous. It will introduce class conflicts which would be harmful to the national movement in more ways than one." The only concession, workers received immediately was the enjoyment of greater facilities than had existed formerly for ventilating their grievances and this they considered utterly inadequate.

In October, 1937, there was a joint conference of the Labour Sub-Committee of the Working Committee of the Congress, of Congress Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries of Labour in Calcutta. The President of the Kishan Sabha and of the All-India Trades Union

Congress were present by invitation. A tentative programme of work was drawn up which it was hoped would be implemented in the Congress provinces through "administrative or legislative action." But this was regarded as disappointing by the Trades Union Congress. It held that the Congress was yielding too much to capitalism and was, to a certain extent, sacrificing the interests of the workers. The employers also were equally critical of the Congress policy. When the report of the Cawnpur Enquiry Committee was published, capitalists said that the findings had been unduly influenced by the Union, the members of which had great influence in Congress circles.

Cawnpur has always been a storm centre and the U P. Congress Government was compelled to have recourse to the much hated Section 144 of the Indian Penal Code. In Bombay and Sholapur also Police action had to be used against demonstrators. This gave rise to much bitter criticism from the Left. It was also suggested that, on many occasions, strikes had been instigated with the sole purpose of embarrassing and discrediting Congress Governments. It has been reported that certain members of the Muslim League went so far as to suggest that communists had been utilised by Congress Governments in order to bring about strikes which might justify them in starting a campaign against British employers. I have very good reasons to believe, however, that prominent Congress leaders have been greatly distressed by the way in which the labour extremists have launched strikes. For instance, in Cawnpur the labour leaders were requested to induce the workers to hold their hands till the publication of the report of the Enquiry Committee. Interested persons, however, instigated the strikers to carry on their objectionable activities.

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru who, at the Lucknow Congress in 1936, invited the trade unions and Kisan organisations to co-operate with the Congress in order to achieve the freedom of India, appreciated the embarrassing situation created by the adoption of this objectionable tactics and as early as September, 1937, said that "the workers and their leaders know well that the Congress ministers are friendly to them and wish to help them in every way. Circumstances beyond their control may prevent them to-day from going as far as they would like to. But for the first time in its history the workers' movement has friendly provincial government in six provinces and the chances

of remedying some of its ills and developing its strength and organisation. They will injure their causes by embarrassing them and withholding their co-operation from them."

The Congress ministers, as was to be expected, were being pulled in two directions by capital which attempted to prevent them from fulfilling the Congress pledges which threatened their profits and by the workers who demanded immediate redress of their legitimate grievance. It is to be regretted that the latter grew very impatient and were not willing to wait till such time as the Congress was in a position to satisfy them.

The sympathy of Congress governments with the point of view of labour is well-known. The U. P. Government, for instance, has already drafted two bills, one dealing with trade disputes and the other with conditions of work of employees in shops and commercial houses. They resigned before the bills could be introduced in the Assembly. The Bombay Government also implemented labour legislation in the form of the Industrial Disputes Act and carried it through in spite of very strenuous opposition offered from the Leftist group.

On the 29th May, 1939, Premier Pant discussed the difficulties of workers with their leaders at Cawnpore and in his reply criticised their methods and pointed out how these were leading to the shifting of industries to the Indian States. These, he said, would have been opened in Cawnpore if labour unrest had not been such a characteristic of the premier industrial centre of the U. P. In his opinion the prosperity of Cawnpore was being seriously jeopardised by incessant labour troubles and it was likely that the prosperity of the entire province would be adversely affected if these became a permanent feature of the life of that city.

Later on, U. P. Government made it known to the labour leaders of Cawnpore that under no circumstances would they permit the peace of that city to be disturbed by lightning strikes or by speeches calculated to incite violence or class hatred. It condemned the lightning strike involving over 4,000 workers at the New Victoria Mills, which had commenced from about the 2nd May, 1939, and made it absolutely clear that while peaceful picketing would not be interfered with, no one would be allowed to obstruct public highways or to deprive citizens of their civil liberty by preventing egress from or ingress into private premises.

The attitude of the Madras Government was clearly enunciated by the Minister-in-charge of Industries and Labour speaking at Coimbatore on the 17th May, 1939, at the Annual General Meeting of the Southern Indian Millowners' Association. He said "The greatest desire of the Government is that they should not be called upon unnecessarily to interfere in the relations between employers and workers. If any labour dispute has culminated in a strike, in spite of attempts on the part of employers, workers and the Government to prevent it, both sides must respect each other's rights, privileges and responsibilities. If they do not and go out of their way, then the Government is bound to intervene in the interests of Law and Order and good Government."

The Labour policy of the Madras Government has been made clear in their communique of October, 1937. They stand for the encouragement of trade unions and preferred settlement of disputes between workers and employers without external intervention. At the same time they were always prepared to adopt strong measures if either of the parties was "unduly unjust or unreasonable." The civil rights both of the employers and the employees have to be equally respected. While peaceful picketing would not be interfered with, it must not degenerate into intimidation which would compel Government to give protection to the employers. If an unreasonable spirit was seen in the rank either of capital or labour giving rise to the apprehension of violence, Government might even have to suspend civil rights by an order under law directed against one or other of the parties for preserving peace. The policy of the Madras Government was "to hold the scales even as between employers and workers and their desire is to justly protect the interests of both parties and specially the industry as a whole."

These instances taken from three provinces where industrial disputes appeared after the Congress assumed office prove the impartiality of the attitude of our All-India national organisation to this particular problem. These three provinces are separated from one another by many hundreds of miles and yet they followed a similar policy—a policy which found approval with neither capital nor labour. This fact alone is sufficient proof that they were trying to do their duty impartially by both the parties to industrial disputes.

The different Congress ministers were not successful in immediately creating good feelings among employers and their workers or in

ensuring the peaceful and amicable settlement of labour disputes in every case. It is only too likely that the labour movement will continue to gather strength and that the gradual spread of literacy will help its growth. Much of the success which may hereafter crown the struggle carried on by workers will depend on the unity and discipline, the sanity and the discretion of the labour leaders.

It required no small amount of courage on the part of the Congress governments concerned to go against the opinions of the more vocal and active leftist element inside the Congress ranks and yet, undeterred by internal differences, they went on their own way and tried to serve the interests of our motherland in the manner which seemed best in their eyes. This one fact alone should inspire the confidence of all parties in the Rightist group of the Congress.

In conclusion, I should like to point out that the perpetuation of the objectionable circumstances under which workers are living in India to-day is a distinct menace to the British workers. The raising of tariff walls and the desire to profit by establishing factories in India are attracting foreign capital, in large amounts to India. The cheap supply of labour from an almost inexhaustible source is also very welcome to those foreign capitalists who desire large returns for their investments. It follows that those who are agitating for a higher standard for Indian labour are, in a manner, serving the interests of the British labourer. A free, contented and prosperous India will need experts and machinery for a long time to come and where should she get them from except from a country to which she has been bound for centuries? It is therefore that the labour movement in India so long as it does not assume a subversive complexion should find favour with labour in the West.

Our duty as Indians

These are two only of the many problems our brothers in the different Congress ministries faced and on the whole, faced boldly and solved as satisfactorily as possible with the slender resources at their command, always keeping in view the undesirability of introducing too sudden changes. Let us hear what a well-known foreign critic of the Congress has to say on the value of the work done by them. In the "Round Table" No. 107, published in June,

1937," it was observed—" The Congress party sponsored a realistic, social and economic electoral programme. This included reforms in the land tenure system, reductions in land rent and revenue and a more equitable adjustment of agricultural burden, giving immediate relief to the peasants. The party promised to deal with the question of agricultural indebtedness, and to improve the lot of industrial workers. Untouchability and other social anachronisms were to be removed, and the treatment of 'political prisoners' was to be examined and improved..... There is no doubt that the practical programme of the party made a stronger appeal to the less sophisticated electors. The election results proved that the Congress had deep-rooted support in the country; for the new electorate brought to the poll nearly 28,000,000 voters who had never exercised the franchise. It was clear that these electors were willing to give the Congress an opportunity to carry out its programme in the legislatures." GS 5784

Is it not a matter of pride with every Indian that even a non-Indian who is not very sympathetic towards Indian political ambitions should pay such a glowing tribute to our brothers who through our support, were entrusted by Providence to serve our country and should we not deem it an honour and a privilege to assist them as far as lies in our power by offering them our loyal co-operation in every patriotic task they undertake in the future? Sir Harcourt Butler who served in India for thirty-eight long years, thirteen of which were spent as Governor of the United Provinces and Burma in his book "Insistent India," written just before the Government of India Act, 1935, became law, while referring to the granting of responsible Government to India said, "Parliament will be confronted by the difficulty of finding any party in India which can, in the language of the market, deliver the goods." This, to the regret of National India, has almost invariably been the attitude of the foreign bureaucracy towards our political aspirations. And yet, Sir Harcourt knew Pandit Motilal Nehru whom he has called his friend in his book. It is also equally certain that he knew Jawaharlal and those prominent members of the Congress party who were jailed by his Government and who till the other day were administering that province successfully in spite of difficulties, many of which they inherited from their predecessors. What Sir Harcourt thought impossible has become an actual fact. And it was so because men fired by Congress ideals are at the helm of affairs. Let us thank

THE STORY OF THE BLACK HOLE TRAGEDY RE-EXAMINED

PROF. UPENDRANATH BALL, M.A.

IN unveiling the obelisk in the north-western corner of Dalhousie Square in Calcutta to mark the spot of the Black Hole incident Lord Curzon remarked in 1902 A.D. : " If there be a spot that should be dear to an Englishman in India, it is that below our feet, which was stained with the blood and which closed over the remains of the victims of that night of destiny, the 20th of June, 1756." He took credit for preserving the historic places and considered it a solemn duty to commemorate the tragedy supposed to have been enacted on Sunday, the 20th of June, in the year 1756. Much energy has been spent in proving that the tragedy actually happened and great expenditure was incurred in re-erecting a memorial which had been removed by the orders of a previous Governor-General in 1821. It must be kept in mind that the original memorial was set up by Holwell, who was the author of the story, and who defended Calcutta in the absence of Drake, the Governor of Calcutta, and is said to have been in the Black Hole.

The students of history have ransacked the records in order to discover the truth. But it seems that it has been difficult to draw up an authentic statement. The records collected so far may be classified into three categories: (1) The official accounts sent by the Council at Fulta. (2) The private accounts left by different persons who were either present in Calcutta or wrote on reports received. (3) The accounts given by the French and the Dutch. Of these the official accounts were prepared on due enquiry and with a full sense of responsibility. The private accounts were not carefully scrutinised and they were mostly self-contradictory. The narrative given by the French and the Dutch was based upon information supplied by interested parties except in earlier notices. The official accounts should be thoroughly scanned with a view to find out the truth.

Nawab Siraj-ud-daula had some grievances with the English for not complying with his orders, and for this reason he captured

Cossim-Bazar early in June, 1756, and proceeded against Calcutta. The news was received at Calcutta with consternation, and after full deliberation the Governor, Commandant, and most of the members of the Council left Fort William in a state of panic and took their shelter on board the ships lying on the Hughli. The settlement was left to three councillors, *viz.*, Holwell, Eyre and Baillie who were opposed to Drake. In the hurry to board the ships a crowd of soldiers and common people are said to have thrown themselves pell mell into the water and in the confusion several boats were sunk. Nearly 200 persons were thus drowned. The soldiers who were left behind went out of control, they "mutinied, broke into the wine godowns and filled themselves with wine." The garrison surrendered on the 20th June, Holwell was brought before the Nawab thrice and was assured of safety. But the soldiers were riotous under the influence of liquor. They were then kept under confinement. Next morning Holwell was brought before the Nawab who demanded the information regarding the treasures. Failing to obtain a satisfactory reply the Nawab ordered him to be put into fetters. He was carried to Murshidabad along with three other Englishmen. Watts and Collet, who were brought from Cossim-Bazar, were released and allowed to go to the French in Chandernagore. Others who escaped from Calcutta proceeded to Chandernagore and then to Fulta where the fugitives took their shelter. The members of the Council held regular consultations there. They wrote to the Council at Fort St. George for help and also sent an appeal to the French and the Dutch. Holwell and the other prisoners were carried to Murshidabad where they reached on the 8th July and there they were released on the 16th and they then went to the Dutch Mint there. They joined their friends at Fulta on the 12th or 13th August.

In the meantime correspondence passed between the Council at Fulta and the officers of the Nawab. These documents are very valuable in understanding the situation properly. In their letter from Chandernagore on the 2nd July, Messrs Watts and Collet wrote to Madras: "We hear Mr. Holwell was taken prisoner in the fort and is in irons. We have no certain news of the fate of the other Subordinates but it is reported they are plundered—most of the Company's servants that remained when the Governor &c went away were either killed or have since died by ill usage" (Hill, Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. I, p. 47). The first important notice

of the capture of Calcutta was made by the French on the 21st June. It was recorded in a letter of the French Council of Chandernagore: "Since the above letter was written we have heard that the Nawab made himself master of the factory at Calcutta yesterday at 5 o'clock. Those of the English who could not escape on board the ships and who made no resistance have been plundered but their lives spared" (Hill, Vol. I, p. 23). The Dutch Council at Hughli wrote to the Supreme Council at Batavia on the 5th July: "The whole world thought and expected that he (the Nawab) would have knocked his head against such a strong place, but time has shown that the English defended themselves for three days only. A part of them fled in their ships down to the river, and the rest, who did not perish by the sword, have fallen into the Nawab's hands, and are bound in irons. There now is that beautiful place, whose blooming and flourishing condition caused every one to admire it, and from which the English Company drew a great and princely income. The fort and all the other costly buildings have been pulled down, the shops erected before this disaster have been plundered, and the timber wharfs destroyed, the place renamed Alinagar, and put under the government of a *Faujdar*. The officers of the up-country factories are also prisoners in consequence of the self-willed behaviour which is peculiar to this nation" (Hill, Vol. I, p. 54).

The Council at Fulta wrote a letter to Watts and Collet on the 6th July seeking their advice regarding the best method of approaching the Nawab for restoring them to Calcutta. They wrote: "In our situation we are to expect from you who have been so long in the Nabob's camp the most certain account you are able to transmit us of the Nabob's determination respecting the English Company, and what effect you imagine an application to his principal ministers and great men would have in our favour, for which purpose we should be glad you would let us know who would be the properest person to address to" (Hill, Vol. I, p. 57). They suggested the names of Manickchand, Roy Durlabh, Golam Hussein Khan, and Khoja Wajid. They issued instructions forbidding hostilities with the Moor's ships or vessels in the river with a view to giving a favourable turn to their affairs. In their letters to the Nawab's men the Council entreated them to extend their assistance in obtaining permission from the Nawab to re-establish their settlement at Calcutta. They did not make any

complaint against the Nawab, rather they were anxious to seek his favours.

Watts and Collet felt that their troubles arose on account of the English failing to accommodate the Nawab and a proper settlement before he reached Calcutta would have saved them from expulsion from Calcutta. They further noted in their letter to the Council at Fulta on the 8th July: "Should the Nawab think fit to permit the English to return and resettle we are afraid it would be not only with the loss of all their privileges but on such shameful terms that Englishmen we hope will never consent to" (Hill, Vol. 1, p. 61). They refused to hand over the letters addressed to the noblemen belonging to the court of Siraj-ud-daula. The Council protested against their conduct and insisted upon delivering the letters.

The Council despatched a letter to Madras on the 13th July along with a narrative of the capture of Calcutta. In that letter a request was made to send Admiral Watson with his fleet to their rescue. There was no reference to the loss of such a huge number of men in the Black Hole. Roger Drake wrote on the 14th July that he was then not in a position to send an impartial narrative regarding the capture of Calcutta.

The letter of Watts and Collet to the Court of Directors dated the 16th July contained the information regarding the Black Hole tragedy. (Hill, Vol. I, p. 103). Various reports were circulated; Holwell on his voyage to Murshidabad told stories to the people he met on the way. In a letter to Councils, Bombay and Fort St. George from Muxadavad, 17th July, Holwell wrote: "The resistance we made and the loss they suffered so irritated the Nawab that he ordered myself and all the prisoners promiscuously to the number of about 165 or 170 to be crammed altogether into a small prison in the fort called the Black Hole, from whence only 16 of us came out alive in the morning the rest being suffocated to death—amongst those myself, Mr. Richard Court, Mr. John Cooke, Mr. Lushington, Ensign Walcot, Mr. Burdett (a young gentleman volunteer), Captain Mills, Captain Dickson, and about 7 or 8 soldiers blacks and whites; amongst the dead Messrs. Eyre and William Baillie, the Reverend Mr. Bellamy, Messrs. Jenks, Rively, Law, T. Coales, etc., our 3 Military Captains and 9 Subalterns, many of our own volunteers and inhabitants, of whom particular lists shall be forwarded the Honourable Company as recollection enables me. Myself, Messrs. Court, Walcot and Burdet were sent to the camp

the 21st in the morning, there put in irons and marched three miles to town the 22nd, in the sun and other irons, with no covering to our heads, and hardly any to our bodies. At the Dock Head we were detained the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th, and the evening of that day put on board an open boat for this city destitute of a rupee or any necessary of life" (Hill, Vol. I, p. 115).

A different version had been given by the same gentleman to Mr. Law of the French factory, when he reached Murshidabad on the 8th July. He then stated that 160 men were put into the Black Hole, of whom 110 were brought out next morning dead for want of air. In the course of the same statement he said: "A prodigious number of Moors are killed. All the night our poor gentlemen were in the Black Hole, the Nawab's people kept firing at them through the door." He further wrote that the English fought on the 20th and 21st June all day and night. This letter to Mr. Law was utilised by Mr. Sykes while giving a narrative. (Hill, Vol. I, p. 62).

A third version was supplied by Holwell in his letter to Council, Fort St. George, on the 3rd August. The letter was written from Hughli on his return from Murshidabad. He had no opportunity of having a roll call or getting correct information on personal enquiry. But he stated in this letter: "I over-reckoned the number of prisoners put into the Black Hole and the number of the dead; the former being only 146 and the latter 123, many recovering after air was let in by opening the door in the morning; many more I doubt not might have recovered had any means or care been taken of them. I charged the Nawab with designedly having ordered the unheard-of piece of cruelty of cramming us all into that small prison, but I have now reason to think I did him injustice. His orders I learn was only general, 'That we should be imprisoned that night, our number being too great to be at large.' And being left to the mercy and direction of his *jemidars* and *burkandosses*, their resentment for the number of their brethren slain took this method of revenge; and indeed they ceased not insulting us the whole night, though witnesses to horrors which bar all description."

A quarrel arose at Fulta when Holwell joined the other members of the Council about the legality of the members exercising their functions as they had abandoned the fort and left the defence to Holwell. But he signed the despatch of the 17th September along with the other members, which was sent to the Court of Directors. This was a con-

sidered document drawn up by responsible members of the Council. There is no mention of the tragedy described by Holwell in so many ways. The capture of Calcutta is described in the following language:

"The next morning they commenced a brisk fire upon the fort which they continued the whole day and great part of Sunday the 20th; and having gained possession of the several houses near the factory and the church, they destroyed a great many of our officers and private men, who being harassed out with continual duty and the enemy overpowering us with their numbers, the walls were scaled on the evening of the 20th, and the fort surrendered upon promise of their civil treatment of the prisoners."

After giving this summary of the capture of Calcutta the despatch goes on to say:

"There being some country vessels in the river, such of the inhabitants as could escape have been confined in them and suffered the greatest distress, most of them having lost every thing they had and scarce saved the cloaths on their backs, which has induced us to take the liberty of maintaining them at Your Honours' expence, which we flatter ourselves will not be disapproved of, when it is considered how general the calamity has been, and what numbers had it not in their power to subsist themselves by any means whatever." (Hill, Vol. I, p. 214).

This statement was prepared after the arrival of Holwell at Fulta. The members acquainted with the situation carefully examined the reports received and explained to the Court of Directors the exact situation. If such an atrocity as the Black Hole incident had actually taken place they had no interest in suppressing it. Immediately after the fall of Calcutta Siraj-ud-daula wrote a letter to Pigot of Fort St. George Council. In that letter he laid the blame upon Drake for the loss of Calcutta and he affirmed that he had no intention to remove the mercantile business of the Company. On receiving this letter the Council resolved on the 17th August to make the utmost efforts to recover Calcutta. Already they were in communication with the Council at Fulta and consulted Admiral Watson regarding the plan of operation. Major Killpatrick had already started on receiving the news of the outbreak of hostilities in Bengal. He reached Fulta on the 31st July. Admiral Watson had arranged to send the *Bridgewater* under the command of Captain Smith with a detachment of 150 men.

But on receiving the communications from Watts and Collet who conveyed the letter of the Nawab the Council held several meetings in which Admiral Watson and subsequently Colonel Clive joined. Two ships arrived from England on the 19th September and the Council being assured that no hostilities were likely in Europe between the English and the French they decided to send an expedition to Bengal under the command of Colonel Clive. The management of all affairs of war and diplomacy had been entrusted to the Select Committee by the Court of Directors. This Committee confirmed the appointment of Clive and on the representation of Manningham, a member of the old Calcutta Council, who had arrived at Madras to represent the state of affairs in Bengal, the command on the sea was given to Admiral Watson and on the land to Colonel Clive. In their letter to the Select Committee, Fort William, the Select Committee of Fort St. George definitely instructed to avoid another war with the Nawab. They wrote in their letter:

" We could not have resolved to engage our Honourable Masters in the vast expense of fitting out this armament but with the hopes of obtaining equivalent advantages. The mere retaking of Calcutta should, we think, by no means be the end of this undertaking; not only their settlements and factories should be restored but all their privileges established in the full extent granted by the *Great Mogul*, and ample reparation made to them for the loss they have lately sustained; otherwise we are of opinion it would have been better nothing had been attempted, than to have added the heavy charge of this armament to their former loss, without securing their colonies and trade from future insults and exactions " (Hill, Vol. I, p. 239).

In order to put pressure upon the Nawab they advised " that the sword should go hand in hand with the pen and that on the arrival of the present armament, hostilities should immediately commence with the utmost vigour." But in the same breath they said that the bad consequences of the war should warn them against the sentiments of revenging injuries. Along with this letter to the Select Committee a letter of threat was addressed to the Nawab by Pigot of the Madras Council. There he referred to the atrocities to the greatest part of the merchants committed by the Nawab's men " in a cruel and barbarous manner beyond what can be described in writing." This is a vague statement and cannot possibly refer to the alleged incident in the night of the 20th June.

On their arrival in Bengal both Clive and Watson started negotiations with the Nawab. They separately wrote to him on the 17th December. Watson asked for the restoration of the ancient rights and immunities and a reasonable satisfaction for the losses and injuries sustained by them. Clive mentioned that great numbers of the Company's servants and other inhabitants had been inhumanly killed. But there was no reference to the particular incident. A large number of people suffered in the siege of Fort William and many were no doubt killed. This was the necessary concomitant of hostile operations. The Nawab did not send any reply to the letters of the Admiral and the Colonel who then recaptured the place on the 3rd January, 1757. The following passage occurs in the Declaration of War issued by the Council at Fort William: "And whereas the aforesaid Sirrajud Dowla not satisfied with this violent proceeding (invested Cossimbazar and imprisoned its Chief) and, without assigning any reason or even proposing any demands to us the President and Council, did sometime in the said month of June, 1756, march towards Calcutta and Presidency of Fort William with a large army and train of artillery, attacked the said factory, took the fort, seized and plundered the effects of the Company and of the private inhabitants to a considerable amount, killed many of their servants, both civil and military, and expelled the few who escaped" (Hill, Vol. II, p. 84).

In this charge sheet the item of putting into the Black Hole and thereby bringing about the death of a large number was not included. The Declaration of War issued by Admiral Watson on the same day contained the passage: "many of whom have also been deprived of their lives in the most barbarous and inhuman manner." This is a general statement and did not raise any definite issue. Jagat Seth, whom Clive requested to intervene on behalf of the English, protested against the renewal of hostilites. The Nawab himself wrote to Admiral Watson on 23rd January that he was prepared to restore to the English provided they appointed a new chief in place of Drake who encroached upon the authority of the Nawab. The Admiral gave a reply on the 27th January and suggested that if Drake had offended against him then a representation should be made to the Company instead of resorting to oppression and murder. The Nawab also sent another letter to Clive in the same strain. The correspondence did not ease the situation and the Nawab proceeded towards Calcutta,

and in an engagement near Calcutta on the 5th February the Nawab's men were scattered and through the efforts of Ranjit Rai a treaty was signed on the 9th February. This treaty is an important document. The Company secured compensation for the losses suffered in Calcutta. There is not a single word in this document regarding the loss of life in the Black Hole. Clause III distinctly says:

"All the Company's Factories seized by the Nabob shall be returned. All the money, goods and effects belonging to the Company, their servants and tenants, and which have been seized and taken by the Nabob, shall be restored. What has been plundered and pillaged by his people shall be made good by the payment of such a sum of money as his justice shall think reasonable."

There was no demand made on account of compensation to the families who should have suffered. The treaty was expected to bring about a reconciliation. But a conspiracy was set up to depose Siraj-ud-Daula. The English gave their full support to the plot and led an expedition against the French at Chandernagore against the wishes of the Nawab. Charges were brought against the Nawab that he had not fulfilled the terms of the treaty. Scrafton was involved in the plot. In order to renew hostilities with Siraj-ud Daula he suggested certain terms to Clive through Walsh. One of these terms was that "the guilty in the affairs of the Black Hole to be given up to us, etc." But we do not come across in any of the State documents any reference to this incident. After the fall of Siraj-ud Daula Clive made a representation to the Emperor Alamgir and his minister Ghazi-ud-din in which he stated: "All the great men and other Englishmen that fell into his hands were by his orders suffocated in one night (Hill, Vol. II, p. 462). This is a false statement made with a view to vindicate their betrayal of the Nawab who had entered into a solemn treaty with them. The official documents do not corroborate the statements made on this matter. If such a thing had actually happened then there would have been an insistence upon ample reparation and reprisal. The treaty of Alinagar does not even hint at this tragedy. The suggestion made by Scrafton was the result of a deep plot and all the rumours were exploited to make up a case. No historian would accept such evidence as genuine.

The earliest reference to the capture of Calcutta is found in the French records at Chandernagore. The French Council wrote on the 21st June that those who could not escape but did not make any

resistance were plundered but their lives were spared. Watts and Collet who were with the Nawab in Calcutta did not mention the massacre in their first report sent on 2nd July. The story was circulated when Holwell was carried to Murshidabad up the river Ganges. He was the main source of information, Sykes gave out his version and the French and the Dutch got the information from the same source. There were a large number of fugitives in Chandernagore and Hughli, but the story of the inhuman massacre was not circulated till Holwell passed those places. It is said that falsehood has many colours and consequently the story was narrated in a variety of ways. None of the story-tellers were witnesses to the scene or visited Calcutta immediately after the incident, except Holwell and Mills. Orme secured Captain Mills' pocket book containing his narrative regarding the loss of Calcutta from June 7 to July 1. We do not know how Orme obtained Mills' pocket book and how far it is a genuine document. It was reported in the papers in England and Scotland that Mills was among those who were in Calcutta when it fell into the hands of the Nawab but was not put into Black Hole and was ordered to leave Calcutta by the Moors themselves (Hill, Vol. III, p. 72). In the accounts published by Holwell he was with him in the Black Hole. The statement of Mills does not agree with that of Holwell. He has said that, " most of those that remained in the fort were put into the Black Hole, to the number of 144 men, women and children. Of whom upwards of 120 were miserably smothered by the heat occasioned by so many being shut up in so small a place, as to be obliged to stand upon one another " (Hill, Vol. I, p. 43).

After his escape from the fort Mills went with Dickson and Moran to Surman's gardens. But there they were advised not to proceed further down the river and then they returned to Govindpore where they remained in a hut for three days with an Indian. The Nawab issued a proclamation permitting the English to return to the town. Mills and his friends then went to the house of John Knox where they were joined by Knox and Gray junior and enjoyed the hospitality of Omichand. The Nawab left Calcutta on 25th June, placing Manikchand in charge of the city. On the 30th June a drunken European sergeant killed a Moor for which Manikchand ordered all the Europeans to quit the Settlement. Mills and his companions then took shelter in the French Gardens where they met

Mr. Young, the Prussian Supercargo. They went to Chandernagore on the 1st July and remained there till the 8th or 9th of August. On the 10th August they joined their friends at Fulta (Hill, Vol. I, p. 194).

Watts and Collet have acknowledged that they got an account of the attack and the taking of Calcutta from Gray Junior. From him they learnt of the Black Hole incident, that 146 persons were put into the place, of whom 123 were suffocated. *London Chronicle*, No. 69 of 1757, mentions that John Knox, George Gray (Junior), Captain Mills, Mr. Kerwood and a few seafaring people escaped being put into the Black Hole and ordered to leave Calcutta by the Moors themselves. (Hill, Vol. III, p. 72). This information is corroborated by Mills himself who says that at the time the Fort was taken the following persons escaped, *viz.*, two Doctors Noxes, Doctor Gray, Paul Richard Pearks, Esq., Dr. Taylor, Dr. English, Captain Collins, Captain Lewis, James Andrews, George Gray (Junior), George Alsop, Edward Savage, James Johnstone, William Tedcomb, Thomas Henderson, Thomas Hirwood. Holwell also does not include the name of Gray in the list of the survivors. Evidently Gray was not in the Black Hole. But it seems he is the author of the story. He narrated it to Mills who put that down in his pocket book at Chandernagore, Watts and Collet heard from him, and gradually the story was broadcast. The earlier report of Watts and Collet was more correct. There was no reference to the Black Hole. Holwell embellished the story with his imagination and gradually improved upon his earlier version. First he said that 165 or 170 were crammed in the Black Hole, then he said the number was 160 and finally he put the figure at 146. This was the number given by Gray to Watts and Collet. (Hill, Vol. I, p. 108). The figure given by Mills was 144.

Holwell first stated that 110 died, then he said only 16 survived and the rest were suffocated to death. His final version was that 23 survived. Mills does not say that any woman survived, but Holwell says that a charming young woman named Mrs. Carey survived and she was taken to the harem of the Nawab. Mills mentions that they were a mixed group of men, women and children. Holwell does not refer to any child being with them, or any other woman besides Mrs. Carey.

It is not necessary to examine the narrative of Holwell which he wrote on his voyage to England on board the Syren-Sloop when the

sea air had some salutary effect upon his constitution. He wrote it on the 28th of February when he had ample opportunity of constructing his story in a plausible manner. But his narrative is so full of absurd details that a careful reading of it will at once condemn it as an unreliable document. He has given a vivid description of the Black Hole prison. He was expected to know the place as he belonged to the Calcutta Settlement He himself has stated that the soldiers knew the dimensions of the room and the nature of the place. He calls it a cube of about eighteen feet shut up to the eastward and southwards by dead walls, by a wall and door to the north, opened only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron. Imagination fails to understand how the inmates of the small room could see one another in darkness. There was no light inside the room. C. R. Wilson very carefully examined the topography of the fort and the Black Hole and he discovered that the room described by Holwell was an area of 18 ft. by 14 ft. 10 in., *i.e.*, just 267 sq. ft., which allowed less than 2 sq. ft. for each person. (Wilson, Indian Records—Old Fort William, Vol. II, p. 245). 146 persons were crammed into this room of 267 sq. ft. and within this narrow area Holwell mentions several movements of the prisoners. First he requested that silence must be preserved and then he delivered a speech to curb every agitation of mind and body. This produced peace for some time. Later his entreaty for water melted the heart of an old Jemadar who ordered some skins of water. But this water created a struggle for it within the room. They all tried to reach the window, many forced their passage from the further part of the room, pressed down those on the way and trampled the weaker to death. This struggle went on from nine to near eleven. Till then the prisoners preserved a respect and regard for him, and after that all distinction was lost. Many of his friends fell down dead at his feet. In a spirit of self-surrender he then moved towards the centre of the prison when about one-third the number had died. There was a platform about three and four feet above the floor and about six feet wide along the whole length of the east side. He seated himself there along with two other men, one of whom was expiring. His friend Edward Eyre came up to him and enquired how he was and then expired before he could make a reply. Holwell was seized with a pain in his breast and palpitation of his heart and then cried out for water. People had so much respect for him that at once water was brought for him. The details given

by him cannot be believed. There is a very interesting passage in his narrative which explains the nature of his own statement: "Of what passed in this interval to the time of my resurrection from this hole of horrors, I can give you no account; and indeed, the particulars mentioned by some of the gentlemen who survived (solely by the number of those dead, by which they gained a freer accession of air, and approach to the windows), were so excessively absurd and contradictory, as to convince me, very few of them retained their senses; or at least, lost them soon after they came into the open air, by the fever they carried out with them."

Towards the morning some of the prisoners brought him near the window where Captain Mills offered his seat to him. We have already seen that it is doubtful whether Mills was in the prison. When Holwell regained his senses he was out of the prison and taken to the presence of the Nawab who enquired of him the whereabouts of the treasures of the Settlement without listening to his tale of woe. If the tragedy was a fact the Nawab must have heard of it and could have easily waited for sometime before he demanded the treasures. The trend of his activities could not bear out the statements of Holwell. The story was manufactured in a heated brain and had no reference to actuality. We find that the Nawab was very attentive to the comfort of Watts and Collet and he had no complaint against Holwell to treat him so callously. He was not a brute to stop his ears to the horrible story told by the injured Englishman. The mere look of the miserable victim of the atrocities of his subordinates would have filled him with pity, and he could not have pressed for the treasures in the presence of the spectre of the grim tragedy before him. He has no doubt been painted as a brute, but Watts and Collet mention that he had great consideration for them. It is unbelievable that Holwell could be carried to the presence of the Nawab from the jaws of death in which he was found in the morning. He passed a considerable part of the night in a state of unconsciousness and recovered from that state by the touch of the morning breeze. Was he then in a position to stand erect before the august presence of the Nawab of Bengal?

No sound historian can accept his statement as genuine. But the story was accepted by the gullible public who could not scan the statements with sufficient care. The actual thing is really obscure. It seems when Holwell was taken as a prisoner he was pressed by the Nawab to give the information regarding the treasures and possibly he

was cruelly tortured. He was released when nothing could be obtained by keeping him in detention. The story of the atrocities was invented to cover the riotous conduct of the English prisoners in the fort. This is in a way admitted by Mills when he says: "Having no men on the bastions, but two or three centinels, the greatest part of the soldiers for want of provisions and having plenty of drink could not be prevailed on to mount the bastions any more" (Hill, Vol. I, p. 44). We come across a similar remark in the account given by Gray Junior where he says: "At the time the fort was taken there was above the number of 80 men upon the walls. The greatest part of the soldiers were drunk, and those that were sober were quite fatigued with continual hard duty, and want of a regular distribution of provisions" (Hill, Vol. I, p. 109).

The accounts of the incidents leading to the imprisonment in the Black Hole are not consistent. In his letter from Murshidabad, dated 17th July, Holwell said: "The resistance we made and the loss they suffered so irritated the Nawab that he ordered myself and all the prisoners promiscuously to the number of about 165 or 170 to be crammed altogether into a small prison in the fort called the Black Hole, from whence only about 16 of us came out alive in the morning the rest being suffocated to death" (Hill, Vol. I, p. 115). In the letter to the Court of Directors, dated Fulta, 30th November, he did not mention any irritation caused to the Nawab. On the other hand there is reference to the resentment at the presumption of the English in defending the fort with so few men against his army and at the conclusion of his interview with the Nawab Holwell was assured that no harm would come to him. But says Holwell: "The consequence proved how little regard was paid to the assurance, for I was with the rest of my fellow sufferers about eight at night crammed into the Black Hole prison, and passed a night of horrors. I will not attempt to describe as they bar all descriptions" (Hill, Vol. II, p. 51).

An altogether different version is given in his letter to William Davis from on board the Syren-Sloop, the 28th February, 1757. There he says: "I had in all three interviews with him: the last in Durbar before seven, when he repeated his assurance to me, *on the word of a soldier*, that no harm should come to us; and indeed I believe his orders were only general. That we should for that night be secured; and that what followed was the result of revenge and

resentment in the breasts of the lower Jemmatdaars, to whose custody we were delivered, for the number of their order killed during the siege." He then narrates that they were asked to sit down in the closed Veranda to the west of the Black Hole prison when a fire broke out in the fort. They believed that they were going to be burnt and " on this we presently came to a resolution, of rushing on the guard, seizing their scymitars, and attacking the troops upon the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted to death." But to be satisfied as to which was actually the case Holwell advanced and found that the soldiers were searching for a place to confine them in. One man named Leech, who was the Company's smith and clerk of the parish, informed Holwell that a boat was ready for him, but he did not avail himself of the offer as he did not desire to desert his friends. Shortly afterwards they were ordered to walk into the barracks and forced into the Black Hole prison (Holwell's Indian Tracts, pp. 389 ff).

Thus Holwell gives three different versions. Governor Drake in his narrative, dated 19th July, 1756, says: " The prisoners were brought before him and implored his mercy, when he was carried to another place where Mr. Holwell was conducted to him with his hands bound. Omichund and Kissendass were released and permitted to pay their respects to the Nabob and it is reported that the formers' houses were, during the siege, guarded and protected by the enemies' forces from plunder. Thus was the loss of our settlement completed and Calcutta destroyed and pillaged by an enemy hitherto contemptible and who showed themselves at this time of the cruellest disposition, for some of our soldiers having made *too free with liquor were riotous*, which occasioned the Nabob to order every person his prisoner to be confined without distinction from Mr. Holwell down to the common militia. His people, having no compassion on our sufferings, thrust them into the Black Hole, a very small place with little or no air, in which were put near two hundred persons without water or any kind of provisions, and so pent up were they as to be forced to trample one upon another " (Hill, Vol. J, p. 160). He further says that more than twenty-five were not left alive.

In the face of these conflicting stories regarding the origin as well as the number of victims and of the survivors it is difficult to believe the story as genuine. Further if we examine the number of persons

left in Calcutta after the departure of Drake, a majority of the members of the Council and the European settlers, we are told by Holwell that only 170 remained, including officers, volunteers, soldiers and militia, and of these 25 were killed and 70 wounded before noon of the 20th June. It is therefore inexplicable how the number of men surrendering to the Nawab could amount to 200 or 146. That a large number of men died in the siege of Calcutta is undeniable and all evidence points to the conclusion that they were killed by the Nawab's men when they tried to overpower the guard in a fit of drunkenness. Those who survived were taken to the prison and spent there an uncomfortable night. To exonerate themselves from their own guilt they manufactured a story which has made Siraj-ud-Daula and his men appear guilty and thus lose the sympathy of the Europeans. In the negotiations for the restoration of Calcutta no stress was laid upon this incident, there was no such charge against the Nawab and no reference was made to it in the treaty of Alinagar. It was subsequently raked up with a view to renewing hostilities with Siraj-ud Daula in pursuance of a deep-laid conspiracy.

THOMAS HARDY: HIS OUTLOOK ON LIFE

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III*

IN *The Dynasts* the poet thought proper "to introduce as supernatural spectators of the terrestrial action certain impersonated Abstractions, or Intelligences, called Spirits"; and he requested his readers to take them as mere "contrivances of the fancy." He was also very careful to point out that "their doctrines are but tentative and are advanced with little eye to a systematised philosophy warranted to lift 'the burthen of the mystery' of this unintelligible world." In poetry, however, the artistic imagination of man plays pranks with him. The emotional attitude of the poet mingles with reality and creates the symbols through which he expresses himself. The skylark does not remain the skylark as it really is in itself but becomes definitely a 'type of the wise' with Wordsworth or a 'spirit of unalloyed joy' with Shelley. It is all the more so when the poet has no 'object' to restrict the free play of his imagination and deals with beings of pure fancy; and whatever Hardy might say to the contrary the Spirits of Pities or of the Years that he created objectified, more or less distinctly, the inner contradiction of his own self. In these representations of "the Universal Sympathy of Human Nature" or of "the Passionless Insight of the Ages," Hardy put much more of his own self than he ever knew. We seem to catch the accents of Hardy when the Spirits of the Pities exclaim—

> "Still thus? Still thus?
> Ever unconscious!
> An automatic sense
> Unweeting why or whence?"

or when they echo the words of Sophocles—

> "Such gross injustice to their own creation
> Burdens the time with mournfulness for us
> And for themselves with shame"

* Continued from our last issue.

and ask—

"Why make Life debtor when it did not buy ?
Why wound so keenly Right that it would die ?"

They feel within themselves something which urges them on to pray—

"To some Great Heart, to take away
This evil day, this evil day !"

And wistfully they hanker for a faith in some Being who might "charm mortal miseries away"—Universal Sympathy, indeed, but also a cry of the poet's heart. Sharply contrasted against this cry of anguish and this wistful yearning stands, gaunt, bare and grim, the world of experience wherein a power works unconsciously eternal artistries in circumstance—a Power

"Whose patterns, wrought by rapt aesthetic rote
Seem in themselves Its single listless aim
And not their consequence."

Even the spiritual Essences, the Symbols of the "universal sympathy" and "passionless insight" are mere slaves of this Immanent Will. They are but accessories of Its works—

"Whom the Ages render conscious; and at most
Figure as bounden witness of Its Laws."

"Yea" say these Essences—

"Yea, from the void we fetch like these
And tarry till That please
To null us by whose stress we emanate—
Our incorporeal sense,
Our overseeings, our supernal state,
Our readings Why and Whence,
Are but the flower of man's intelligence;
And that but an unreckoned incident
Of the all-urging Will, raptly magnipotent."

Men might be proud of their Free-will ; they might think of their activities as self-ordained. But this doctrine is a "naive and liberal creed." It forgets the Prime Mover of the universe even as puppet-watchers often forget "him who pulls the strings."

They ". . . . . dream
Their motions free, their orderings supreme ;

Each life apart from each, with power to mete
It's own day's measures ; balanced, self-complete ;
Though they subsist but atoms of the One
Labouring through All, divisible from none."

Even supermen are instruments of this Immanent Will. Napoleon himself knows it. He speaks of—

" Some force within me, baffling mine intent,
Harries me onward, whether I will or no."

" Yet, it is true," so he admits—

" Yet, 'tis true, I have ever known
That such a Will I passively obeyed."

And so the spiritual essences of the over-world and of humanity on earth below, they are all invited to witness—

" The twitchings of this Buonaparte
As he with other figures foots his reel,
Until he twitch him into his lonely grave."

For

" Such men as he who wade across the world
To make an epoch, bless, confuse, appal,
Are in the elemental age's chart
Like meanest insects on obscurest leaves
But incidents and grooves of earth's unfolding ;
Or as the brazen rod that stirs the fire
Because it must."

Good and evil are human concepts which have no place in the workings and activities of the All-pervading Power. It feels for none. It is loveless and hateless:

" It is impassible as glacial snow—
Within this Great Unshaken
These painted shapes awaken
A lesser thrill than doth the gentle lave
Of yonder bank by Danube's wandering wave
Within the Schewarzwald heights that gave it flow."

Everything in this universe is Pre-ordained. The incidents and happenings of human history are, like all else, fixed immutably by " the Immanent that urgeth all."

" These flesh-hinged mannikins, Its hand upwinds
To click-clack off its pre-adjusted laws."

It does not reason but—

" works unwittingly
As one possessed, not judging.
A fixed foresightless dream
Is Its whole philosopheme."

This immense " unweeting mind " is something which is far above forethinking ;

" . . . . . processive
Yet super-conscious ; a clairvoyancy
That knows not what It knows, yet works therewith "—

and

" like a knitter drowsed
Whose fingers play in skilled unmindfulness
The Will has woven with an absent heed
Since life first was, and ever will so weave."

The poet often visualises the Immanent Will as working in and through Humanity and the external universe as well.

A Will-web is thus revealed—

" . . . . . web Enorm
Whose furthest hem and salvage may extend
To where the roars and splashings of the flames
Of earth-invisible suns swell noisily,
And on-wards into ghastly gulfs of sky,
Where hideous presences churn through the dark—
Monsters of magnitude without a shape,
Hanging amid deep wells of nothingness."

It has its counterpart in the world of man as well. " A new and penetrating light descends, enduing men and things with a seeming transparency and exhibiting as one organism the anatomy of life and movement in all humanity and vitalised matter " ; and

" Strange waves are seen like winds grown visible,
Which bear men's forms on their innumerous coils,
Twining and serpentining round and through,
Also retracting threads like gossamers—
Except in being irresistible—
Which complicate with some, and balance all."

These are, according to the poet,

> " . . . the Prime volitions, fibrils, veins,
> Will-tissues and pulses of the Cause,
> That have wrought the Earth's compositure."

The volitions of a Universal Will are thus rendered visible, as it were, to the imagination of man and all living objects become parts of that power. Each has indeed " parcel in the Total Will" but is overridden by the all-pervading Power.

> " Thus do the mindless minions of the Spell
> In mechanized enchantment sway and show
> A Will that wills above the will of each,
> Yet but the will of all conjunctively
> A fabric of excitement, web of rage,
> That permeates as one stuff the weltering whole."

The vision of the Will-web and the conception of a Passionless Unconscious Immanent Power—these the poet created to interpret to his own instincts the world of experience as he found it to be; and in a passage reminiscent of the past experiences of their creator, the Spirit of Years admits that he has been constrained by his experiences to accept such a hypothesis,

> " In the foregone I knew what dreaming was,
> And could let raptures rule! but not so now.
> Yea I psalmed thus and thus . . . . But not so now."

There are, indeed, tendencies in contemporary thought which influenced Hardy into developing this concept of the Immanent Will. The rejection, even by philosophical thinkers, of all anthropomorphic elements in the conception of the ultimate Reality; the unrelenting struggle for existence visualised by the evolutionary school of thought; the mechanistic conception of the universe then fostered by science; Hardy could not ignore them. He himself admitted " the abandonment of the masculine pronoun in allusion to the first or fundamental energy seemed a necessary and logical consequence of the long abandonment by thinkers of the anthropomorphic conception of the same." Thus the common, perceptual world penetrated the ego of the poet and led him on to the enunciation and development of a theory of Immanent Will which seemed, at least, to render his world of experience more plausible to his own understanding.

Hardy thus tried to bring about an ultimate synthesis between his ego and his experience. He had gone painfully along the path suggested by contemporary thought, interpreting, in its terms, the experiences of his life. After long arduous labours he had arrived at the doctrine of the Immanent Will to explain the universe as it appeared to him. There are, however, indications in *The Dynasts* itself that the doctrine did not represent any such ultimate synthesis. The Spirit of Pities could not accept the conception of an Inadvertent Mind. Even if, for the sake of argument, one admits that the Immanent Will is unconscious and pitiless, one might well ask

"Shall blindness be for aye?
Men gained cognition with the flux of time
And wherefore not the force informing them,
When far-ranged aions past all fathoming
Shall have swung by and stand as backward years."

Human hopes and human aspirations are fed by far other conceptions of the ultimate Reality.

"Though times be when the mental moan
Seems unascending to thy throne,
Though seers do not as yet explain
Why suffering sobs to Thee in vain;

"We hold that Thy unscanted scope
Affords a food for final Hope
That mild-eyed Prescience ponders nigh
Life's loom, to lull it by and by.

"Therefore we quire to highest height
The Well-weller, the Kindly Might
That balances the Vast for weal
That purges as by wounds to heal.

"And these pale panting multitudes
Seen surging here, their moils, their moods,
All shall 'fulfil their joy' in Thee
In Thee abide eternally."

Even the Spirit of the Years, at long last, questions the validity of such a theory

"Last as first the question rings
Of the Will's long travailings

Why the All-mover,
Why the All-prover,
Ever urges on and measures out the chordless chime of Things.

Nay;—shall not Its blindness break?
Yea, must not Its heart awake,
Promptly tending
To Its mending
In a genial germing purpose, and for loving-kindness sake?

Should It never
Curb or cure
Aught whatever
Those endure
Whom It quickens, let them darkle to extinction swift and sure?'

The Immanent Will and its unconscious activities absolutely indifferent to human emotions might satisfy his analytical intellect but not his emotional self. And to a poet the emotional self is far more significant than the Intellect. And so the Epic-drama ends on a Note of Hope—

"But—a stirring thrills the air
Like to sounds of joyance there
That the rages
Of the ages
Shall be cancelled and deliverance offered from the darts that were;
Consciousness the Will informing, till It fashion all things fair."

IV

This then was the personality of Thomas Hardy—not a mere cynic nor a mere pessimist; but an eager enquirer after truth who tested everything with reference to his own experiences and was bold enough to follow where his experience led.

Poetry becomes significant only in so far as the experience it integrates is not peculiar to the poet himself or to the narrow circle in which he lives. Poetry can find a response in the heart of the common man when the experience it describes or organises has been felt or is capable of being felt by him 'in a dumb unconscious way though it be.'' It can become meaningful when the poet participates in the common affective world for it is through this social ego that its readers can enter into its spirit. If we apply this criterion to the poetry of

Hardy we find in him all the "obstinate questionings" which are a s prominent feature of the human mind in all ages and all climes. The eternal revolt of man against the iniquities of life, the divine discontent which makes him restless in the midst of his present environment, the cry of the human heart against the tragedies of life, its sympathy for human sufferings—we find them all in Hardy's poetry, and who can deny that these very elements form a significant and valuable part of the general experience of man ?

(Concluded)

WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL AS AN AUTHOR

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AUTHORSHIP is not an activity prominently associated with the Premiers of England. Many of them, no doubt, have produced memoirs, reminiscences or political handbooks; a few might have dabbled in Classics or *belles-lettres*. But the only Prime-Minister whose literary composition was sufficiently consistent to enable him to rank as a professional writer was Disraeli, whose novels had a large sale independent of political predilections. Now that Mr. Churchill has taken the helm of affairs in England we have once more a Premier whose writings, spread over a period of four decades, have made the English public sit up and take notice.

Winston Spencer Churchill, named after his ancestor the father of the great Duke, has been conspicuous in public life ever since he set a youthful foot in it. At the age of twenty-one he left Oxford to join a Hussar regiment; but though he took up the sword he did not forget the pen. It was in this country while serving in the Frontier operations that he went through his apprenticeship with the pen. *The Story of the Malakand Field Force*, written in 1897, has become almost a military classic. Allowing for a certain youthful exuberance in the choice of the words, the style is reminiscent of Burke and Disraeli; the application of Burke's style in particular to the details of war yields here and there passages worthy of Napier's great history—the model of all military literature. The success of the book led to his appointment as war correspondent in the campaigns in Egypt, on the Nile and in South Africa. His letters and messages were very illuminating and were collected and published in book form in *The Reconquest of the Soudan* (1899), *The River War* (1900) and *London to Lady Smith* (1900). There are some fine passages of literature in these books but they are fewer in number than those in his first work. Mr. Churchill has also tried his hand at novel-writing, producing a loosely constructed story, *Savrola* (1900). It is an artless narrative with few graces of style; plainly and simply built up of facts and incidents.

At the end of his military career Mr. Churchill turned to politics and journalism. Sons have not always been the most judicious of biographers and Mr. Churchill's warmest admirers would not call him the most judicious of men. But in his life of Lord Randolph Churchill the young Achilles has done due honour to his Patroclus without stirring up any rancorous controversies. It shows admirable self-restraint; its interest never flags for a moment; and no one who cares for politics will willingly put it down till he has reached the last page. In later years Mr. Churchill has given us the record of his own adolescence and manhood in sundry volumes. One hears the small boy, the youth at Sandhurst, the young lieutenant in the Sudan campaign, the slightly older politician, each telling his story in his own way. In describing his youthful experiences he has some splendid purple patches, many touches of that pleasant form of humour based on ironic understatement which is so fashionable to-day, and which shows that he has at his command the art of the autobiographer.

This art reaches its apogee in the seven volumes of Mr. Churchill's *World Crisis* (1923-31). This stupendous work, which is history and autobiography inextricably intertwined, surveys the whole field of pre-war, war and post-war Europe. It is the work of a man who has taken a commanding part in tremendous events and is himself a practised writer. It is of extraordinary interest, and its interest is threefold. It lies first in the reasoning Mr. Churchill employs to defend his political, strategical and administrative work against the various attacks made on it; secondly, in his vivid and skilfully constructed narrative of the whole war imbroglio; and lastly, in his portrait of himself. From the very first he makes no pretensions to the position of an historian. He is a protagonist in the case pleading his own cause, and his plea is powerful, brilliant, dramatic. He is less concerned to narrate the history of the war than to reiterate a point of view and explain the causes of what he regards its unnecessary prolongation and sacrifice. We are offered a spirited defence, a defence indeed of very great ability; but we have to remember that it is a defence, not a judicial utterance.

Mr. Churchill's plea is effective in showing that there were many contributory causes to failure. He points out the odds he had to contend against when he was sent to the Admiralty in October, 1911. He touches on most aspects and many details of the great con-

flict: the folly of the French offensives of 1915, the failure of the Austrian campaign in Galicia, the Dardanelles fiasco, the invention and misuse of tanks, the submarine campaign of 1917. He accuses all the allied offensives of 1915-17 as "needless and wrongly conceived operations of infinite cost." The drama of the Dardanelles in particular is tellingly presented, and we almost feel the tragedy of war to be personified in the misfortunes of the First Lord. The story of his controversies with Kitchener, Fisher and Mr. Lloyd George is told in a temper which can hardly be called restrained; his apologia is too much an indictment of colleagues who were antagonised by hastiness of action. This sustained defensive argument is what gives a semblance of unity to the seven portly volumes which are less a history than a collection of documents, sketches, essays and reviews. What is the main impression that it leaves upon our minds? We retain a picture of a strong, courageous personality possessed of military instincts and a vivid imagination. But less conspicuous appear to be the complementary qualities of sound knowledge and a capacity for forming a balanced judgment.

The World Crisis, though not a history proper, brought its author into repute as an historian. Mr. Churchill further enhanced this reputation with the four volumes of his *opus magnum—Marlborough: His Life and Times* (1933-38). As Professor Trevelyan says, "It combines qualities too seldom found together in historical works—swinging narrative, careful study of the authorities, clear technical exposition, acute insight into several of the principal characters and an understanding of the conditions of the period so different from those of our own day." Mr. Churchill had long considered that the great Duke had received scant justice at the hands of historians; and not only historians but great stylists and popular writers like Swift, Pope, Macaulay and Thackeray have vied with each other in leaving an odious portrait to posterity. Naturally, Mr. Churchill has been impelled to take up the cudgels on behalf of his slandered ancestor. Accordingly he has made Marlborough's career his life-study, carefully reading from his childhood everything he came across about the Duke. He has dug among the archives at Windsor, Blenheim and elsewhere and unearthed a whole sheaf of new letters and documents, so that he is able to present important information overlooked by the historians of the past two hundred years. His personal experience of naval and military affairs has served him to good purpose in his

accounts of the strategy of Marlborough's campaigns. He is not willing to have the Duke judged by modern standards. While admitting most of the charges brought against him, Mr. Churchill has cleansed them of any sinister significance, so that Marlborough seems to stand out, a magnificent figure, in many ways the darling of the gods. The book achieves an impartiality that does its author credit, although there are moments when he may be suspected of partisanship ; his branding of Macaulay as a liar is hardly in good taste.

It would be no disparagement to state that Mr. Churchill belongs to the journalistic school of historians. It is a perfectly respectable school, and has been brilliantly represented in English literature. Macaulay may be said to have founded it, and the other leading exponents of its methods have been Sir George Trevelyan, John Richard Green and Justin MacCarthy in the past, and Mr. Hilaire Belloc and Mr. Philip Guedalla in our own days. All of them have several salient points in common. They all write as if they expected to be read aloud ; they all take sides like sound party men discussing contemporary events. They are all prepared to sacrifice a good deal to the making of a point ; and they all seem more concerned with pictorial and rhetorical effect than with the deeper lessons which history may teach. The journalistic method has its admirers and its *raison d'etre.* The history which it produces is generally readable, and there is no reason why it should not be accurate, since the subject is seldom obscure or deep. It is often lacking, no doubt, in philosophy ; but there is room in the world for a certain number of historians who are not philosophers, and do not pretend to be. Mr. Churchill writes not as a scholar or a philosopher, but as a man of affairs, a politician, an orator. He is a man of action, an artist of letters bringing to the telling of a tale the tremendous courage and the absorbing vitality that go with such characters, together with a creative capacity, that while it brings life into every page, cannot help transforming and gilding the narrative as it goes along. With him we are far from the colourless chronicle which is satisfied with a humdrum account of events. In his histories Mr. Churchill entertains us by his vivid imagination and power to paint a picture, by the colour of his comments on the facts and by the intrusion of his personality into the narrative. He is a master in the use of the limelight and tries to make history exciting by dramatising persons and events. Where he fails as an historian, it is in seeking to put the details in relation to one another

his has been a lone voice crying out against the lurking danger. His recent speeches and articles have been collected and published under the title of *Arms and the Covenant* (1938) and *Step by Step* (1939). In these writings we find that our author has changed little indeed. Even on the wrong side of sixty he remains as briskly, brusquely, brilliantly Churchillian as he ever was. His notions may change but they never float in vagueness. His ungreying boyishness seems to defy the years. With the quizzical smile at the corner of his mouth, with a cigar sticking out at a jaunty angle from his lips, with his half-tripping step and buoyant manner he looks the perfect picture of the Happy Warrior, and in the dark hour of her peril it is a Happy Warrior that " England hath need of " most of all.

THE IDEALISM OF PROFESSOR SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN[1]

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OF all the contemporary philosophers of India Professor Radhakrishnan is the most widely known as a philosopher. Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore are also known throughout the world; but the former is known more as a saint, moralist, and politician, and the latter more as a poet, than as a philosopher. Nay, we may even say that they are more widely known, because Mahatma Gandhi is the leader of a people and his saintly utterances have a wider appeal than the philosophical statements of Radhakrishnan; and Tagore is the author of poems that can interest every literate person. It is but natural that Professor Radhakrishnan as an academical philosopher is less known to the masses and less read by the literate. Yet the simplicity and beauty of the style of his writings, and the fluency and eloquence of his speeches which translate the audience into sublime spheres, have earned for him a name unsurpassed by that of any other academical philosopher of modern India. There are few scholars like him, who have grasped the spirit of the Eastern and the Western thought alike. In spite of the opinion of many both in the East and the West that East is East and West is West and the twain can never meet, Professor Radhakrishnan proclaims that the two can meet and have met. It is usual for some philosophers of the West to dismiss Indian thought with a few remarks like that it is mysticism and is not rational, that it depends more on metaphors than on logic, and that it has more mythology than metaphysics. Similarly, in India there is the tendency to talk slightingly of Western metaphysics as intellectual gymnastics, which even as such has not approached the logical subtleties of some Indian systems, and to say that Western philosophy, unless it gives up its mode of approach and aim, and adopts those of the Indian, can have no salvation. In face of both these views Pro-

1 This article is based on a lecture delivered in the Univeesity College, Waltair, under the Extension Scheme of the Andhra University.

fessor Radhakrishnan declares that the spirit of man is the same everywhere. Some may say that he has attempted an impossible task in trying to prove what he declares, and some others that he has misinterpreted Indian thought. But the fact remains that he has succeeded in showing that the spirit of man is the same everywhere in spite of differences of outlook. The differences are only the non-essentials.

Professor Radhakrishnan is known more as a liaison officer between East and West than as the founder of a new system of thought. This is certainly not the whole truth. However, the construction of independent systems of thought is the philosophical fashion of the West, but in India the follower of a great tradition is more honoured. That is why even original formulations here have sometimes been fathered upon some ancient teacher. Besides, one who is more or less a historian of philosophy can hardly be expected to develop an independent system. Even as a historian of philosophy Professor Radhakrishnan has a peculiar task to perform, which is not at all easy. He has not merely to present Indian thought, but to present it in terms of the ideology of the West. His works thus not only present to the Western thinkers a new approach to the philosophical problems, but also have disclosed to the Indian thinkers new significance in the Indian concepts. The originality and depth required to perform this task are in no way inferior to those displayed in founding a new system. While reviewing his *Idealistic View of Life* Professor Muirhead writes: "If originality in philosophy as in poetry consists, not in the novelty of the tale, not even in the distribution of light and shade in the telling of it, but in the depth with which its significance is grasped and made to dominate over the details, his book certainly does not fail in this quality."[1] Professor Radhakrishnan's works are pregnant with suggestions for future developments. Besides, he has stuck to the great Indian tradition of the Vedanta in spite of a few differences from its ancient teachers and has not rendered himself open to the charge of frivolous hunt for novelty.

Because of his strong desire to reveal the true significance of the concepts of Indian philosophy he makes his ideas transparent and style perspicuous. There is no attempt at mystification, and at unnecessarily confusing the audience with logical subtleties and technical

[1] *The Hibbert Journal*, October, 1932.

terminology and with the omission of connection steps. The usual tricks of the second and third rate philosopher to pass as too great and profound to be understood are not found in him. His views and arguments may not satisfy everybody. But his presentation is always clear and simple. He knows his ideas and his readers can understand them.

Professor Radhakrishnan is an Advaitin, but like Tagore he is an Advaitin in his own way. Tagore's writings seem to have influenced a little the inner workings of Radhakrishnan's mind, at any rate in the early stages of his thought. In the latter's writings we do not find the same emphasis on love or *bhakti* as in those of Tagore; but the fact can be explained by the one being a poet and the other being an academical philosopher. But it would be erroneous to say that Tagore determined Professor Radhakrishnan's thought. The latter is well acquainted with all the Indian and European systems. The logic of the Supreme Brahman or the indeterminate Absolute of Sankara he finds unassailable. But he seems to feel that the criticism levelled by rival schools against Sankara's Maya is not without justice. The negative aspect of Sankara's teaching is not much to his heart. At one time he even found it an inconsistency in Sankara's philosophy. He writes in the *Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*: "The anxiety to be loyal as far as possible to both Buddhism and Vedantism appears to be the explanation of much of the inconsistency of Sankara's philosophy. God or the Absolute he cannot give up as a Vedantin. But when, with the Buddhist, he admits that the finite is illusory, his absolute becomes something in which all is lost and nothing is found again. . . . . But there is no denying that the positive method Sankara intends to pursue as a Vedantin and the negative method he does sometimes pursue as an interpreter of Buddhism, end in conflict and contradiction." [1] But later Professor Radhakrishnan's attitude to Sankara is modified and he says only that there is undue emphasis on this negative aspect by Sankara and his followers. In *An Idealistic View of Life* he writes: "The Upanishads and Sankara try to express the nature of the ultimate being in negative terms. 'The eye goes not thither nor speech nor mind'." "There is a danger in these negative descriptions. By denying all attributes and relations we expose ourselves to the charge of reducing the ultimate

[1] Pp. 116-17.

being to bare existence which is absolute vacuity." [1] He observes that the logic which treats the one as real and the many as illusion is hasty and is corrected in the view that the one reveals itself in the many.[2] In his system he tries to remove the over-emphasis on the negative relation between the Brahman and the world and to show a positive relation between them.

A great pandit, a Mahamahopadhyaya, once asked me whether it was true that Professor Radhakrishnan steered a middle course between Sankara and Ramanuja. The pandit's guess has a real justification. Professor Radhakrishnan writes: "Sankara and Ramanuja are the two great thinkers of the Vedanta, and the best qualities of each are the defects of the other." [3] That is, for a true philosophy they are complementary to each other. Professor Radhakrishnan wants to retain the Absolutes of both, the *nirguṇa* or indeterminate Brahman of Sankara and the *saguṇa* or the determinate Brahman of Ramanuja. Even Sankara tried to give a place in his system to the latter Brahman. But Professor Radhakrishnan complains that Sankara does not show any positive relation between the two, and so tries in his own system to bridge the gulf between the two left unbridged by Sankara.

Professor Radhakrishnan does not want to call Ramanuja's Absolute by the name of Absolute, but by the name of God. He writes: "Ramanuja's view is the highest *expression* of the truth though Sankara would add that the real is larger and better than our thinking has room for." [4] Here we have to note that the word 'expression' is italicised in order to convey that final truth cannot be expressed and that Sankara is right in saying so. However, if it is to be expressed, Ramanuja's is the only way. "We are impelled to transcend the world of change and finitude in order to reach a reality where the subject and the predicate are absolute. The assumption of such a reality is the basis of all logical procedure. In judgment we try our best to bring out the full nature of reality by a series of predications. But a string of abstractions cannot do justice to the wealth of reality unless we assume that the ultimate reality is thought as such. It is this absolute judgment that is implicit in our mind

[1] Pp. 161-2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[3] *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 120.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 658.

from the first, that being and thought are one." That is, Ramanuja's Visishtadvaita is really the non-difference between substance and attribute, subject and predicate, the two terms being equally real. That is why Ramanuja's Absolute is the highest logical expression of reality. It is the Absolute pressed into the moulds of thought, the Absolute intellectualised, or as Tagore says, the Absolute humanised.

Ramanuja's Absolute is an organic conception. "So far as the world is concerned, God is organic with it. It is impossible to detach God from the world. The Hindu theologian Ramanuja regards the relation of God to the world as one of soul to body. He brings out the organic and complete dependence of the world on God." [1] Just as the subject and predicate in a logical judgment have no meaning apart from each other and in isolation, God and the world, God and the Jiva, have no reality apart from each other and in isolation. This means that, as God and the world are organically related to each other, each must be affected by the other. Professor Radhakrishnan does not say that Ramanuja holds and admits that God is affected by the evil and misery of the world, but that he cannot logically escape the conclusion if he sticks to his Visishtadvaita " . . . if the attributes form the essential nature of God, then the process of change in them must also affect his nature. Does all this mean that God is not absolute actuality, but is himself in the making ? The distinction, finally, that the soul of God is the efficient cause and his body the material cause is untenable.[2] We cannot take half a fowl for cooking and leave the other to lay eggs." "What Ramanuja does is to combine the two (unity and plurality, the Brahman and the world) into one Absolute, which is a concrete organic whole, all of whose parts or elements exist in and through a supreme principle which embodies itself in them . . . One may well ask whether such an absolute experience is not an arbitrary fancy incapable of verification. We can combine words so as to make a plausible statement, but it is doubtful whether there is a corresponding reality. If the Absolute is supposed to be a transcendent changeless existence, it is a problem how such an Absolute, which has no history, includes the time process and the evolution of the world. Unless Ramanuja is willing to explain away the immutable perfection of the Absolute, and substitute for it a perfectly changing process, a sort of progressing perfection, he cannot

1 *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 338.

2 *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 715.

give us any satisfactory explanation of the relation of the soul of the Absolute to his body."[1]

Hence Ramanuja's Absolute is not really an Absolute. His attempt to include the world and finite souls in it is doomed to failure. We have, therefore, to admit that there must be something higher than it, namely, Sankara's Absolute. The latter only can be the true Absolute ; the former can only be the God of religion or the reality as a whole of our intellect. Both God and his world must vanish in the Absolute. "God, though immanent, is not identical with the world until the very end. Throughout the process there is an unrealised residuum in God, but it vanishes when we reach the end ; when the reign is absolute the kingdom comes. God who is organic with it recedes into the background of the Absolute. The beginning and the end are the limiting conceptions, and the great interest of the world centres in the intermediate process from the beginning to the end."[2] We are again reminded of Tagore's view that we are interested in the Absolute not in its purity, but as the Mayavin, that we are less concerned with the canvas than with the painting done on it. Further, "God as the universal mind working with a conscious design, who is at once the beginning of the world, the author of its order, the principle of its progress and the goal of its evolution, is not the God of religion . . ."[3] "While the Absolute is pure consciousness and pure freedom and infinite possibility, it appears to be God from the point of view of one specific possibility which has become actualised.[4] While God is organically bound up with the universe, the Absolute is not." "God who is the creator, sustainer and judge of the world, is not totally unrelated to the Absolute. God is the Absolute from the human end. When we limit down the Absolute to its relation to the actual possibility, the Absolute appears as the supreme Wisdom, Love and Goodness . . . We call the supreme the Absolute, when we view it apart from the cosmos, God in relation to the cosmos. The Absolute is the precosmic nature of God, and God is the Absolute from the cosmic point of view."[5] "The Hindu is aware of the fundamental problem and as early as the period of the Upanishads we find attempts to reconcile the

1 *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 716.
2 *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 340.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 333.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 343.
5 *An Idealist View of Life*, pp. 344-45.

doctrine of the changeless perfection of the Absolute with the conviction that it is also responsible for the changing world." "The way in which the relation between the Absolute and God is here indicated is not the same as that either of Sankara or of Bradley, though it has apparent similarities to their doctrines. While the Absolute is the transcendent divine, God is the cosmic divine. While the Absolute is the total reality, God is the Absolute from the cosmic end, the consciousness that informs and sustains the world. God is, so to say, the genius of the world, its ground, which as a thought or a possibility of the Absolute lies beyond the world in the universal consciousness of the Absolute. The possibilities or the ideal forms are the mind of the Absolute or the thoughts of the Absolute. One of the infinite possibilities is being translated into the world of space and time. Even as the world is a definite manifestation of one specific possibility of the Absolute, God with whom the worshipper stands in personal relation is the very Absolute in the world context and is not a mere appearance of the Absolute." [1] "The Absolute is joy; God is love. Joy is a self-existent reality, an absolute which does not depend on objects but only on itself." [2]

The gist of all these quotations is that God is not a mere appearance of the Absolute as in Sankara and Bradley, but is the very Absolute viewed from a particular point of view. The Absolute as pure is the matrix of infinite possibilities, of which one is actualised. When the Absolute is viewed from this actuality, it is God. But viewed apart from this actuality, it is the Absolute. That is, from this standpoint God too becomes the Absolute. When we view the Absolute from our finite point of view, it appears to us as God organic to ourselves and nature. Then its nature is love, for love implies both duality and unity. But when God is realised by us, when the end is actually achieved, we and our God fade away into the Absolute. That is, God stands only so long as we and our logic stand. But when the object of both is achieved there is only the Absolute, and love is transformed into joy, in which there is no element of duality.

But if we are to understand at all we can understand only logically. As the Absolute is not a tangible object which we can study, what we are to understand must be the world including ourselves. And this we have to understand to be an organic whole. The structure of

[1] *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, pp. 281-82.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

thought is organic and consequently it presents the world as an organic whole. God, being organic to the world, must naturally be limited by it. He is a person with all the limitations which the idea of personality involves. Professor Radhakrishnan does not accept Lotze's view of the personality of God, according to which the contrast between self and not-self which personality implies is not characteristic of divine personality. " . . . if the being is a positive activity, this activity has meaning only when it is opposed or limited by conditions which are not created by itself. Whether or not the contrast between self and not-self is essential to personality, human or divine, life of a personal being is not possible except in relation to an environment. If God has no environment on which He acts, He cannot be personal. If God is personal, He cannot be the Absolute which has nothing which is not included in it in every possible sense of the word." [1] " In the course of the cosmic process, God accepts the element of the given, certain necessities which His will does not approve, though He is struggling to transform them through His creative effort. God appears to be finite in the process though His infinity reveals itself when the world plan reaches its fulfilment." [2] " God can only be a creative personality acting on an environment, which, though dependent on God, is not God. Though the acting of God is not forced on Him from without, still it is limited by the activities of human individuals. The personality of God is possible only with reference to a world with its imperfections and capacity for progress. In other words, the being of a personal God is dependent on the existence of a created order. God depends on creation even as creation depends on God." [3]

But if the Absolute is the only truth, how does the world come to be? Professor Radhakrishnan says that the world comes to be in and through the act of self-assertion by the divine self; the assertion being of the form " I am." But the moment the I is affirmed, the infinitude of non-being makes its appearance and confronts the I. At this stage we have God and the world facing each other. But the alienation between the two has to be overcome, the Not-I has to return to the I. The I in the process of return becomes a Me And " when the creator and the created coincide, God lapses into the Absolute." [4]

1 *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, p. 282.
2 *Op. cit.*
3 *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, p. 283.
4 *Op. cit.*

If it is asked, Why does this Not-I appear when the I is asserted, Professor Radhakrishnan's answer is that it is Maya, a mystery.

But this world is not unreal or pure non-being. Professor Radhakrishnan seems to be inclined towards viewing it as both being and non-being. "The being of which we have experience is not Absolute being. Whatever falls short in any degree of Absolute reality has in it an admixture of non-being. In the world of experience, we have a conflict between being and non-being. In and through this mental hostility, the world exists. If there were no non-being, there would be no being."[1] This view reminds us of Plato and Hegel. It also shows that the modern interpreters of the Vedanta including Tagore and Dr. Bhagavan Das are prone to understand Maya more as being and non-being after Hegel and Plato than as neither being nor non-being after Sankara. That Professor Radhakrishnan after a critical estimate in his *Indian Philosophy* of Sankara's doctrine of Maya prefers the view that it both 'is' and 'is not,' shows that he is dissatisfied with Sankara's connotation.

How does Professor Radhakrishnan try to relate God to the Absolute positively, for not doing which he criticises Sankara? It is through his doctrine of intuition. God is the truth for our intellect, the Absolute for our intuition. Yet intuition is higher than intellect. And so its deliverance must supersede that of intellect. There are various forms of knowledge, intellect, intuition, instinct, etc. Of all these, intuition occupies the highest place. Intuition is integral experience, intellect is discursive knowledge. Intellect involves the distinction between subject and object; in intuition the two are one. Yet intuition is not the same as imagination, in which too, one may say, knowing and the object known are identical. "The reality of the object is what distinguishes intuitive knowledge from mere imagination."[2] "If the term 'knowledge' is restricted to what is communicable, what can be expressed in formulas and propositions, then intuitive insight as ineffable and non-propositional is not knowledge. But certainty and non-communicability are the true test of knowledge, and intuitive experience has this test of assurance and certainty, and therefore is a species of knowledge."[3] It is not also instinct, though instinct has the

[1] *Op. cit.*
[2] *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 143.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 145.

directness and unity of infuitive knowledge, for intuition is conscious like intellect.[1]

Yet intellect and intuition are not separate and discontinuous. "There is no break of continuity between intuition and intellect. In moving from intellect to intuition, we are not moving in the direction of unreason, but are getting into the deepest rationality of which human nature is capable." "Intuitive knowledge is not non-rational; it is only non conceptual. It is rational intuition in which both immediacy and mediacy are comprehended."[2] In short, intuition is the basis and is presupposed by our intellect. "As it is the response of the whole man to reality, it involves the activity of reason also. The truths of intuition are led up to by the understanding and can be translated into the language of the understanding, though they are clearly intelligible only to those who already in some measure have immediate apprehension of them. Intuition is not independent but emphatically dependent upon thought and is immanent in the very nature of our thinking."[3] "The proof of the validity of our intuitive knowledge is somewhat similar to Kant's proof of *a priori* elements. We cannot think them away. Their opposites are inconceivable. We cannot disbelieve them and remain intellectual. They belong to the very structure of our mind."[4]

Just as intellect and intuition are not different but the latter is the completion of the former, the absolute is not different from God but is His completion. The relation between the two is positive, not negative.

There seems to be another line of thought running through Professor Radhakrishnan's account of intuition and his criticism of Ramanuja, which is aimed at positively relating the Absolute to God and the world. But it is more or less an undercurrent and the point is not openly discussed by him with this aim. He finds fault with Ramanuja for regarding the relation between the Brahman and the world as that of substance and attribute or subject and predicate, and for holding curiously enough that the relation between the two is non-difference and not inherence.[5] The

1 *Ibid.*, p. 214.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 153.
3 *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, p. 268.
4 *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 156.
5 *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 713.

relation between subject and predicate, whatever that be, is a logical relation. And if logic has to be transcended, then both the terms of the relation must become equal. That is both must be substances and both must be attributes, both must be subjects and both must be predicates. In other words, the distinction between subject and predicate, substance and attribute, must vanish. The experience of such a thing is self-consciousness in which both subject and predicate, subject and object, substance and attribute, are the self only. Consciousness may be regarded as the attribute, but it is the attribute of itself. Similarly, it may be regarded as the object, yet it is the object of itself. And this self-consciousness is the highest intuition.[1] The ideas out of which this line of thinking can be developed are there in Indian philosophy, though the argument was not advanced in this way. But it has been clearly developed in Western idealism. Professor Radhakrishnan as a master of both the Eastern and the Western philosophies could not have been uninfluenced by it. This argument is clearly positive, and not negative. He himself says that the world which is a Not-I returns to the I and becomes one with it.[2] But what is the nature of the experience when the Not-I becomes the I? Surely, it is self-consciousness.

Professor Radhakrishnan believes that no Jiva can attain salvation unless and until all the other Jivas of the universe obtain their salvation. This view is upheld by some of the followers of Sankara, and though the Mahayana Buddhism does not maintain that it is not possible for a Jiva to attain salvation apart from the others, it exhorts all the enlightened ones not to enter Nirvana until they see that the rest of the creation too is enlightened. However, all the followers of Sankara do not accept the theory of the simultaneous salvation of creation. According to those who hold the view, Isvara is the Brahman limited by Maya, and the Jiva is the same limited by a product or part of Maya, sometimes called Avidya. There are further differences of view, but our point can be clear even if we do not dwell upon them. The main point is that what constitutes Jiva is a product or part of Maya which enters into the constitution of Isvara. Isvara has to continue so

1 *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 139.
2 *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, p. 283.

long as the world lasts. So even a Jiva who overcomes his share of Maya, only enters Isvara and continues there so long as Isvara continues. That is, his separateness from Isvara only is cancelled and not from the Brahman. But Isvara has to continue so long as there is a single Jiva with his part of Maya, that is, until all the Jivas are liberated. So no Jiva can obtain final *mukti* until all the other Jivas obtain it. But the other followers of Sankara say that this view need not be true, for the mysterious principle of Maya can vanish with reference to the liberated Jiva while continuing to work with reference to those in bondage. And some of the follwers of Sankara do not admit Isvara at all. Professor Radhakrishnan writes: "'. . . we find a large number of passages in Sankara which indicate that while the released soul attains at the very moment of release a universality of spirit, it yet retains its individuality as a centre of action as long as the cosmic process continues. The loss of individuality happens only when the world is redeemed, when the multiple values figured out in it are achieved. The world fulfils itself by self-destruction. The freed soul, so long as the cosmic process continues, participates in it and returns to embodied existence not for its own sake but for the sake of the whole."[1] In a way, we may say, this view is a corollary from Radhakrishnan's view of God. The world cannot become one with the Absolute until it and God, the created and the creator, become identical. So long as the world lasts, God must continue as God, and the Jiva as the creature of God must remain with God until the latter enters the Absolute. But God can enter the Absolute only when there is no world, that is, when there are no more unliberated Jivas.

Now we may raise some points of comparison and controversy. There is similarity between the positions of Tagore and Radhakrishnan. Both admit the Absolute beyond all description and maintain that our interest is greater in this world and in the Absolute as connected with this world than in the Absolute as unconnected with this world. But Tagore's standpoint is that of a poet while that of Radhakrishnan is that of logic. The former's position is personalistic absolutism or, we may say, humanistic absolutism; for his religion is that of a poet, and he wants to

[1] *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 306.

humanise the Absolute and regard it as a person, and contends that human beings cannot understand the Absolute otherwise, though an impersonal Absolute may be true. The latter's position is logical or intellectualistic absolutism; his religion is that of intellect, and he wants to intellectualise the Absolute, treats it as God who is a person, and contends that our intellect cannot understand the Absolute otherwise, though an impersonal Absolute which is beyond the reach of our intellect and is the object of intuition is true. Both Tagore and Radhakrishnan are mystics in that both feel the need and possibility of transcending theism and of absorption in the Absolute. Both regard our finite experience as both being and non-being, and this is the view of Dr. Bhagavan Das also. Not that all Indian systems treated the world as unreal. Many Saiva and Vaishnava systems treat it as real and as containing no element of unreality. Only a few Indian systems view it as both 'is' and 'is not.'[1] The Advaita of Sankara and the Madhyamika of Nagarjuna regarded it as neither being nor non-being. But in the Syadvada of Jainism and in the Vaibhashika conception of Nirvana we meet with such an idea. Evidently these three contemporary thinkers are influenced in this conception of theirs by Western thought, especially by that of Hegel and the Hegelians.

Anyway, the God of Tagore is the truth of love and that of Radhakrishnan the truth of logic. Not that the latter does not preach *bhakti* or love. He writes: "Salvation comes from the grace of God through *bhakti* or trust in God, and surrender to him. In all true religion we have faith in and experience of a living God who saves and redeems us from our sins. The love of God is more central than either his wisdom or his sovereignty."[2] But as a metaphysician he thinks that logic can give the same truth. Even this much of faith in logic Tagore does not have.[3] Radhakrishnan too insists that logic has to be transcended. But what he thinks can be given by logic, namely, the organic unity of God and the world,—even that cannot be the result of logic according to Tagore.

Further, Professor Radhakrishnan has incorporated a kind of meliorism into his philosophy. He does not say that the finite soul effects the amelioration, but that God himself does it. God is really

[1] For instance *cf.* Kshemaraja: *Sivasutravimarsini*, p. 8. (Kasmir Series of Texts and Studies) *Bhāvābhāvarūpasyavisvasya jagatah.*

[2] *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 340.

[3] *Creative Unity*, p. 13.

infinite, but appears to be finite until the world-plan reaches its fulfilment, and during the process he struggles to transform the imperfect world into the perfect. We have, therefore, to note that Professor Radhakrishnan's is only a kind of meliorism and is not that of James. For the former's God is really infinite and success is sure ; while the God of James is finite and success is not guaranteed. So in Professor Radhakrishnan meliorism is only a passing phase. His theory of *sarvamukti* or simultaneous salvation is of a piece with this view.

Does Professor Radhakrishnan's Absolute include the world or exclude it ? He writes: "We may distinguish between God as distinct from the lesser spirits who derive their being from him and the Absolute which comprehends all conceivable existence. God, spirits and matter are the Absolute, and not God alone. Yet Ramanuja indentifies God with the Absolute, besides which and beyond which nothing exists."[1] In this criticism of Ramanuja we find that the Absolute must include the world. That it must include the world seems also to be the motive of Professor Radhakrishnan's criticism of Sankara that there is little of positive relation between the Absolute and the world in his system. The same motive seems to be at the basis of his viewing the world as both being and non-being. The world may be infinite non-being at first, but it is gradually turned into being through absorption by God. And as the world is neither completely absorbed nor absolutely alien to God which is in organic relation with it, it is both being and non-being. Thus in Professor Radhakrishnan we have three ontological levels, the level of being, the level of both being and non-being, and that of non-being. For Sankara these levels are that of being, that of what is neither being nor non-being, and that of pure non-being. The difference between Sankara and Professor Radhakrishnan is obviously due to the difference in their conception of Maya. What we say of Professor Radhakrishnan holds true also of Tagore and Dr. Bhagavan Das, as the conception of Maya of all the three is the same.

If, now, the Absolute is to include the world, how is this inclusion to be understood ? Ramanuja says that the world is a *viseshana* or attribute or the body of God, and God is therefore in organic relation with it. Professor Radhakrishnan's God corresponds to the Absolute

[1] *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 714.

of Ramanuja, and the former wants to transcend God. But by transcending God, the Absolute seems to leave the world out. And by being the principle of the unity of the world God seems to include it. If what we say is correct, then God is richer than the Absolute. We are here reminded of Bosanquet's view expressed in his *Contemporary Philosophy* that reality would be the richer for including unrealities like the objects of imagination, illusion, etc. But then are we to maintain that God is richer than the Absolute and that the Absolute need not include the world? Professor Radhakrishnan concludes his *Idealistic View of Life* by saying that the supreme considered apart from the world is the Absolute, and in relation to the world God.[1] But is the Absolute poorer than God? Can it be really apart from the world or cosmos? If it is really apart from the world, how are we to reconcile with this view the criticism of Ramanuja that he identifies merely God with the Absolute which must include both spirits and matter?

Professor Radhakrishnan's meaning seems to me to be that the way in which Ramanuja tries to include spirits and matter in the Absolute is not satisfactory. The relation between these and God is that of subject and predicate, body and soul. So the inclusion is not complete, there is still alienation between the two terms. The spirits and matter which comprise the body of God should be so transformed as to become equal to the soul, so that there could be complete transparency between the two and the distinction disappears.

If we are to understand the point thus, how are to reconcile it with the statement that the Absolute is the supreme considered apart from the world? Really the Absolute is not apart from the world, but the world is absorbed into it.[2] On this point Professor Radhakrishnan is clear. He says that when the creator and created become one God lapses into the Absolute. So his meaning is that the Absolute which is pure does not include the world so long as it retains its alien nature, but the world cannot be the world unless it retains this nature. If it is transformed and becomes pure like the Absolute, it ceases to be the world. So the Absolute does not really exclude the world; on the other hand the world is assimilated to the Absolute. The point whether and how the Absolute includes the world is not discussed

[1] P. 345: "We call the supreme the Absolute, when we think it apart from the cosmos, God in relation to the cosmos."

[2] *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*; p. 283.

at length in Professor Radhakrishnan's writings. But if what we say is not his meaning, his statements that the supreme considered apart from the world is the Absolute and that the Absolute should include the world cannot be reconciled.

If the Absolute as pure cannot include the world as impure, can the relation between the two be positive? Probably it is the feeling that it cannot be all positive which is at the back of Professor Radhakrishnan's assertion that the Absolute is the supreme considered *apart* from the world. It would be no mystery if the Absolute creates the world by transforming itself just as milk produces curd. The Absolute does not work even like a catalytic agent. It is also the material cause of the world, because there is nothing else than the Absolute to be the material cause. The mystery of creation lies in the Absolute creating the world while remaining itself unchanged in its perfection. The Absolute is apart from the world; yet it is the material, the substance of the world. But we have no perfect example of this relation at our empirical stage. If the question is asked, What is the relation between the world and the Absolute, we have to come back to the answer of Sankara, that the Absolute is not the world as such. This negative relation does not imply that the world and the Absolute are different entities. The Absolute eternally includes the world in its transformed nature or in its essential nature.

But what is this world with reference to the Absolute? Sankara's answer in brief is that the Absolute is the real, but the world though experienced by us as real is neither real nor unreal. Sankara does not say that the world is unreal, for if it be real or unreal it cannot be identified with the Asolute which is its basis. The Absolute can be understood positively as the unity of the subject and the object; in it the object is sublimated and assimilated to the subject, the world is transformed into the full being of the Absolute. But this unity or the full being the Absolute is eternal. As intuition it is the basis of our intellect. That is why the realisation of the Brahman is sometimes said to be recognition, not only by the Saiva Advaita or Pratyabhijnavada but also by many followers of Sānkara Advaita. But then how are we to understand the relation between such an eternally perfect Brahman and the world? If the Brahman is something which is the result of perfecting the world, it can be understood only in positive terms. But if it is eternally present even during this perfecting process and is not a result to be

brought about, then it is just an other to the world. Yet the world cannot be a different entity from the Brahman. The existence or *satta* of the world is the existence or *satta* of the Brahman. The world does not have a separate existence from that of the Brahman. When we experience the world we do not experience the Brahman as such. That is, we mistake the world for the truth, which is the Brahman. If the world were real this identification could not have been made, nor could it have been made if the world were unreal. In the same act of cognition two things which are real, or one of which is real and the other unreal, cannot be identified and perceived as one. For this reason Sankara regards the world as neither real nor unreal. Hence with reference to the Brahman the world can be understood only in negative terms. For the finite individual the Brahman is positively achieved, for only when the finite is transformed into the infinite can the Brahman be realised. This means that the relation between the finite and the Brahman in the direction from the finite to the Brahman is positive, while in the opposite direction it can be *understood* only in negative terms as neither is nor is not, as neither real nor unreal, and so forth. Or viewing it from another side, the finite implies the Brahman and therefore the relation from the lower to the higher can be understood in terms positive ; but the Brahman does not imply any finite in particular and so the relation in the reverse direction can be understood only in negative terms. Of course, unreality is not the only opposite of reality just as impossibility is not the only opposite of possibility. Unreality is what is admittedly unreal, just as impossibility is what openly contradicts the nature of reality. The possible is that the conditions for the existence of which are only partly known to be real and partly not known at all. And the not-possible, therefore, is that no conditions for the existence of which are known at all, while the impossible is that the conditions for the existence of which openly come into conflict with the conditions of reality. Similarly, unreality is what is never experienced to be reality at all, and so that which is experienced and is not reality cannot be either real or unreal. To understand the world in such negative terms does not mean that the world is a negative entity and has no positive nature of its own. All the Advaitins treat Maya as a *bhāvapadārtha* or a positive entity and not as an *abhāvapadārtha* or a negative entity. It means that we have to suspend our judgment about its reality and unreality. Only what

is neither can be mistaken for reality and experienced as reality. The same point can be understood in another way. The Brahman is the unity of the manifold. If there is a finite, there is also the infinite presupposed by the finite. But starting from the infinite we have no grounds to say that it presupposes any particular finite. Thus our thought proceeds here only one way, presupposition here holds only in one direction. This is so wherever the consequent is a unity of a manifold. For instance death can be inferred from the taking of potassium cyanide, but from death the taking of potassium cyanide cannot be inferred. Life can exist only so long as a particular combination of factors obtains. The destruction of any of the factors means the destruction of life, and so means death. But from death we cannot infer what factor in particular, is at first destroyed. The systematisation here which our thought adopts is only a one-way systematisation. The other way leads only to fallacies and contradictions.

Thus both the positive and negative moments are indispensible to absolutism. This does not mean, as Dr. Bhagavan Das, Hegel, etc., want to make out, that the Absolute itself contains both the moments. It is our system of philosophy that contains them. Professor Radhakrishnan's chief contribution to Indian Absolutism is his making clear that the Absolute can be reached positively, and not only negatively as many orthodox Advaitins seem to hold ; and that reaching it positively does not contradict the main Advaita thesis. And he contends, not without justification, that Sankara's writings themselves contain passages which depict the positive relation between the world and the Brahman. He seems to feel that the emphasis which the general Advaita tradition lays on the negative relation between the Brahman and the world has a harmful influence on the outlook of the Indian mind. It created an indifference to the values of the world and a passivity that bred gloom. He thinks that spirituality does not mean an escape from the world, but the transformation of the world into spirit and of the material into spiritual values. Such an escape produces in our minds a sense of duality and so fear, and not nity which is strength and fearlessness born of the knowledge of truth

MADHUSUDAN RAO: THE NEW LYRIC AND PROSE IN ORIYA

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MADHUSUDAN RAO (January 29, 1853—December 28, 1912) came from Maratha stock domiciled in Orissa before British rule began. He was born at Puri; his father Bhagirath Rao served in the Police Department. When Madhusudan was five years old, his mother died at childbirth giving birth to Jagannath, the younger brother of Madhusudan. His early training was first at the village pathsala at Gop, and next at Bhubaneshwar M.E. School, where his father had been transferred. In a short time he got a seat in Puri Zilla School, where he soon became the favourite of all, carrying away the prizes and gaining the golden opinion of his teachers. Early in life he had dreamt himself looking at the God Siva on a high mountain; and the vision he carefully tended in his mind—who knows if it had not coloured his views on life and religion! When he was a student of the 2nd class, Radhanath joined the school as its second teacher, and the new teacher was very much impressed by the young student, and helped him in his lessons. Thus began a life-long friendship memorable in the annals of literary friendship. Both studied Sanskrit with Pandit Harihar Das, the distinguished scholar of Orissa. Madhusudan had already married; he was detained in the Entrance class for 3 years, once on account of the great famine, another year for his own health, and only in the third chance, in 1869, he passed with credit and joined the F.A. classes of Cuttack High School. He dreamed of the Holy Light; and his social work began when in 1866 he came forward to join the volunteer organisation for distributing rice among the famine-stricken. Influenced as a student by Sj. Haranath Bhattacharyya, his professor of Philosophy in the College, and no doubt strengthened in his new faith by his contact with Pratapchandra Majumdar who came to Cuttack on invitation from Haranath Babu and delivered a few sermons, he later on embraced Brahmoism and with him was associated his friend Pyarimohan. Both were to win distinction in later

life. The religious aspect of his life was never dormant. His character commanded universal homage, and we are told that Dwijendralal Ray, the well-known poet of Bengal, was reminded of Ramtanu Lahiri on seeing him, while Pandit Sivanath Sastri called him a second Vidyasagar. He was catholic in his outlook, and never yielded to sectarian narrowness ; but at the same time his zeal never flagged, and his verses always contained the flavour of the Upanishadic *sādhanā*—the mystic feeling of intimacy with the Great Being.

Madhusudan passed his F.A. Examination in 1871, and this marked the end of his academic career as his father would not hear of his going to Calcutta, a step necessary then for prosecuting further studies, as there was no provision for B.A. teaching in Cuttack. Thus deprived of all opportunities for higher education, he entered the education department on the meagre salary of Rs. 45 p.m. and as the headmaster of the M.E. School, Jajpur. He was then only 18 years old. It was here that he first met with Fakirmohan Senapati, and struck a friendship lasting for about 40 years. From Jajpur he was taken to Balasore and employed there as the 2nd Teacher of the Zilla School. On 29th October, 1873, he entered Government Service. Radhanath was then posted at Balasore as the Deputy Inspector of Schools. Fakirmohan was in the same town busy editing *Sambādbāhikā*. The organ of the centre was *Utkaladarpan* to which both Radhanath and Madhusudan contributed translations from English and Sanskrit. It was in this periodical that *Ayodhyā Pratyāgamana* and *Praṇayara adbhuta pariṇām* came out, these were followed by his *Vishitha cintā, nirjanadvipe nirvāsitar vilāp, smasān* and *sūryya, ulkā pinda, āgneya giri, sāsan praṇālī* in prose. These formed part of his *Prabandha-mālā* published by him later on, in obedience to the Government's demand for text-books for which rewards were proclaimed. After two years' work at Balasore, he was posted to Cuttack High School as an additional teacher, promoted to be the second teacher there after one year's work. In 1876 Ravenshaw College was started and the High School became Ravenshaw Collegiate School. After 3 years' work there, he became Deputy Inspector of Schools in Cuttack on Rs. 100 p.m. But it is not of his official career that we want to speak ; rather, of his personality, of his hopes and desires, whatever may be their worth, of his way of looking at things, and of his literary works.

Madhusudan's writings have thus been chronologically arranged in the preface to the collected works published in 1915:

1873:	Pranayara adbhuta pariṇām.
1873-74:	Kavitāvalī, in two parts.
1880-81:	Chāndamala, Part I
1894-95:	Sangītamālā, Part I
1895-96:	Sangītamālā, Part II
1897:	Hema-mālā.
1901:	Bāla-rāmāyaṇa (Incomplete).
	Vasanta-gāthā
1903:	Kusumānjalī (poems already published).
1907-8:	Uttara-rāma-carita.
1908:	Maharshi Devendranāth Tāgore.
1902:	Bāmaṇḍā-rāja-prasasti, soka-sloka;
	Himācale Uday-utsava.
1908-12:	Miscellaneous poems published generally in the *Utkala Sahitya*.

Taking up his first efforts, we find that in *pranayara adbhuta pariṇām*, Madhusudan wrote a short story. 'Love's strange end' was an adaptation of a Sicilian tale. Henry, Prince of Sicily, was kept at Belmont. His father, the younger brother of the king, has been put to death by royal decree, so to speak, as he had died in prison. Henry's only aunt, Constantia, had a daughter, Diana, brought up at the royal household. Henry lived under the care of the minister Sigfried; but at Belmont he had conceived a passion for the beautiful Matilda, the minister's daughter, his only child. When the king died, Henry was taken to the capital to be installed as king, but he gave a *carte blanche*, literally speaking, to Sigfried bearing his signature; and before he left he had been speaking to Matilda, reiterating his love for her even in the circumstances. They had been meeting in secret, though old Sigfried had prohibited their meeting, for does not love laugh at bars? Henry had, at great expense, caused a secret passage to be built, the existence of which was known only to the two lovers. The will and testament of the dead king contained a conditional clause to the nomination of Prince Henry to the throne—that he must marry Diana, daughter of Constantia; this was communicated to the king-designate in the presence of a vast assembly, and Henry was simply bewildered.

He raged, and he visited Matilda again, to find that she had been forthwith married to Pedro, a nobleman, much against her will. This infuriated him all the more, and he wanted to tell Matilda how he had been the victim of circumstances. To get an opportunity to communicate with her he sent Pedro to prison, but Pedro escaped from there, to find Matilda spurning the new king, and the two fought a deadly fight. Pedro was mortally wounded, and then killed Matilda to put her out of the king's power, and the shock of the news killed Sigfried on the same day. The king remained a recluse all his days and wore out his life in a fit of depression.

This tale of blood and horror—these deaths in the finale—is evidently a youngman's exercises in literary expression, translation from some story included in the Romance of History. It betrays no special note but simply records a turn for literature, and a training in the translation of writings in foreign languages.

Hemamālā is a short story. The hero speaks in the first person. There was meeting in a Siva temple: an episode in Kanci-Kaveri war. He was left for dead on the field. Next day he was better, he revived in a monk's hut, went back home, but the news of his death had preceded him, and he had to stay on till the fight had been won. Hemamālā had fallen a victim to some fell disease, partly due to mental worries at the idea of an actual bereavement; the hero on return was met by the monk who had been to the village years ago, and had then known both him and Hemamālā, and guessed her fatal disease. So the last scene again is a scene of deaths.

Both these stories are now interesting historically, showing not the growth of Madhusudan's taste, but the nature of his miscellaneous reading.

Madhusudan's literary output is not so large as that of Radhanath, but he was a metrist with sufficient skill. Experimenting with many fashions in versification, he produced a book of sonnets and wrote a number of elegies. He prepared verses suitable for children, in his days an important contribution to the new literature. Previously, juvenile literature made no sharp deviation from general fare, but, under western influence, and imbued with a sense of holiness of an ideal pursuit for the tender-hearted youth, he wrote a number of verses teaching devotion to God, love of country, etc. He was a serious poet, and would hardly relax into pure fun or amusement, except in the few satires aimed against literary pretenders,

"bhanda-rasāyana," and the titles of many of his poems—*nishītha-cintā, jīvana-cintā*, etc.—speak for themselves. The sonnets, the elegies, the patriotic verses reveal a real interest in poetry, an interest which was responsible for so many attempts in different channels.

The great poet must have not only a supreme control over his words and images, but must have a corresponding intensity of vision. Madhusudan had glimpses of this great poet's vision. His concise reproduction of Vedic life in ancient India is highly significant and it was the object of unstinted praise by Rabindranath sometime about 1897. In reviewing the *Nabyabharat* for Agrahayan (1298 B.S.), Rabindranath (presumably it was he, because he used to do the reviewing for the *Sādhanā* even in the first year of its existence) said with regard to the *Rishicitra*, a poem by Madhusudan Rao:

"The name suggests a Maharashtra origin; but such poetry has not been in Bengali language by any other non-Bengali hand. In the writings of the poet a dew-washed holy and new light of dawn of ancient India shines in a very pure, bright and great style. We have been gratified by a new poetic flavour in this poem. There is no real antique flavour in the writings of most Bengali writers on India, but in the *Rishicitra* the tune of an ancient and solemn *dārupad* is to be heard playing."

His *Himacaley udaya-utsaba* is a poem couched in rhymed verse in a like vein, with a mystic note in it. The marriage of earth and heaven is a brilliant piece of nature description.

In ecstasy he cries:

ki apurva ki rahasyamaya parashare
bharuachi sarvaprāṇa mahā harashare.
....
He anādi he ananta rasa-prasrabaṇa,
mora ādi anta rase rase nimagana.
āji mora netrotsava, sunetra tumbhara
nimagana mugdha drushti e mo nayanara.

What strange, mystic touch
Fills my entire being with a flood of joy!
....
Thou who art without beginning and end, the spring of joy,
My beginning and my end are in joy immersed.
To-day my eyes feast, your holy gaze
Swallows this charmed sight of mine.

More emphatic is the expression of the yearning for the infinite—from alone to alone.

"You are mine, O mine, mine and mine,
My God, my God, you are mine, O mine!"

The gradual illumination of snowy peaks, step by step, has been very ably done. The performance was appreciated by the *Banga-darshan*, and that shows how deep was the admiration it roused.

Madhusudan has been responsible for many patriotic verses, independent poems speaking from heart to heart. His *Utkala-gāthā* is a collection of patriotic lyrics, and had been dedicated to Madhusudan Das. He is probably the first to write patriotic verses in Oriya. His patriotic outbrst has in it a trace of historical nationalism; he traces the glory of Utkal to Dhauli, and exhorts his compatriots to a lofty endeavour after the example of the neighbouring provinces.

His passionate love of India breaks out in the following lines:

ehi ki se puṇya bhumi bhuvana-vidita
subistīrṇa rangabhūmi āryya-gauravar?
ehi ki bhārata, yār mahimā sangīta
gambhira-jhankāre purṇa diga-digantar?
ehi ki se sumanogga āshā-sarovar,
yār jnānāmruta pāne krutārtha dharaṇi?
yār teje bibhāshita desha-deshāntar?
ehi ki se vasudhār samujjvala mani?
ehi ki amrutamayee mruttunjaya-
santāna-jananī?

Is this the holy land, famed through the world,
The spacious field for the play of Aryan glory?
Is this India, whose song of fame
Fills all the quarters of heaven with solemn sound?
Is this the pond of hope, pleasing to the mind,
Whose nectar of knowledge blesses the earth?
Whose vigour lights up all countries under the sun?
Is this the bright gem of the mother of all gems—the Earth?
Is this the mother of death-conquering sons—
the mother full of nectar all through?

It is apparent that he has had a vision of resplendent India, resplendent in glories spiritual and temporal, a vision that came to him through communion with the past.

He was an experimenter in verse forms. He sometimes stuck to old verse machinery—*sankarābharaṇa* and *rasakulyā* vruttas. His *Nishītha-cintā* is written in nine-line stanzas, the lines being rhymed as a b a b c d c d etc. *Bhārata-bhāvanā*, another nine-line stanza poem, shows the rhymes placed in the order a b a b b c b c c; though there is a breakdown of the metrical form after the first four stanzas. Sonnets by Sonepur and Suṛangi chiefs have been marked by seven couplets, each made up of 14 letters, distributed into two natural divisions of 8 and 6. But generally Madhusudan uses five rhymes, as in *Bicchede* or in *Hruday sangit*, rhymes being thus disposed: a b a b a b a b c d e c d e. In his metrical experiments he was generally influenced by the west, and on this point he represents liberalism just as Fakirmohan stands for conservatism. It is remarkable also that in Madhusudan we find an attempt at constructing a sonnet-sequence in his three sonnets on Radhanath which, by the way, describe his personal relations with the great poet.

As regards the other works of Madhusudan, we find a liberal influence operating even in his *Sangītamālā*, the preface to which shows his attitude to outside influences. He declared his readiness to accept such influences, and he actually composed some songs after the tunes current in Bengal and Surat. It was a collection of 104 songs; three of which were in Sanskrit metre and three in Surat metres; the rest were set to Bengali and Oriya *rāgiṇīs*. He said: "As Bengali song-writers composed to tunes adapted from other languages, I trust no objection will be raised if songs are composed in Oriya to tunes, etc., imported from other languages."

But his affiliation to Sanskrit should not be minimised. His *Uttara-rāma-carita* is a faithful translatian of Sanskrit measures; the *nāndī* is in the familiar *navākshar vrutta* of Oriya verse. But it is proper to note that there also he took liberties in arranging the text, *e.g.*, he used the *Vishkambhak* once at least as an independent scene, and in Act IV we get a second scene whereas in Sanskrit there are no such sub-divisions.

Madhusudan Rao was closely connected with the *Utkala Sāhitya* since 1897. He not only contributed articles and poems, but also trained men and taught novices in literature to pass through their apprenticeship. He was closely connected also with the Utkal Sahitya Samaj when it was established out of the Alocanā Sabha of Cuttack which had been functioning for about 9 years. He was the first

president of the Sahitya Samaj. He gave patterns of virile and intellectual prose in Oriya, and his lyric outbursts lent a new grace to the literature. He utilised his time fully in the writing of poems, and writing to him was an effective anodyne. He would challenge physical pain to detract him from his writing. We see him as one of those simple and strong souls whose eyes are turned to God and nature, and who sing and write because they want to serve Humanity. Oriya literature gained from him both in range and content, and the gift was spontaneous. He succeeded in winning the praise of the judicious—Bankimchandra and Rabindranath both praised him for his poetry; and who will refuse him the recognition which his poetry and prose give him? He was one of the makers of modern Oriya literature, and his manifold activity in literary fields has left a lasting stamp on the age.

BEN KING'S VERSE

A CRITICAL STUDY

H. P. CHATTERJEE

IT is good for insular English poetry to be buffeted at times by transatlantic waves. Not only England, but the whole English-knowing world, the world which can appreciate a poet, is made happier by these verses. A large number of the poems in this volume are anything but serious: Benjamin King never took poetry seriously; but whenever he desired to be merry, he was seriously so. He sang of the things that count in life; he sang of man and his country, love of man and maid, of parent and child, of God and man, of man and his neighbours, of beggars, tramps, domestic unhappiness and filial ingratitude. With the minstrel's harp to his lips he marched over the whole terraqueous globe. He made his characteristic song out of elementary emotions and ideas, so that a personally poignant feeling can find a general expression and arouse sympathetic response in the hearts of the readers. The metrical device is simple, and usually relies on artful rhyming and obvious alliteration to maintain rhythmic emphasis, balance and variety.

To a casual student of English poetry most of the verses may appear flat and unprofitable, even in some cases repelling; they are so hopelessly American in diction and full of un-English orthography. There are pages of verses, bristling with elision marks, composed in the spoken language of the Negro and the average Yankee. All the same there are verses which would amply repay the trouble spent over deciphering the words, while some are in quite good English.

Benjamin Franklin King, Jr., was born at St. Joseph, Michigan, March 17, 1857, and died at Bowling Green, Kentucky, April 7, 1894. To his friends he was known as "the drollest mimic and gentlest humourist of our region"; "he existed as the welcome and mirthful shadow of conventional and tiresome things." His biographer speaks of him thus: "How odd a boy he was—no one understood him. On the edge of the marsh he would sit during hours at a time, under the spell of the weird music and rushes." As a boy Benjamin never grew

up. A Peter Pan of country-lanes and harvest-fields, he always retained the spirit and glamour of a schoolboy holidaying in the glades of Sherwood Forest.

His sudden death in a Kentucky hostel was deeply mourned by his friends and all those who had come under the witchcraft of his talents. That his was an extremely lovable personality, not in spite of, but rather because of his freaks, is sufficiently evinced by the warm and passionate tribute of a friend who wrote thus on receiving the news of his death:

"My judgment is obscured by the vivid picture of an early morning; and down a dark hallway I still hear a violent knocking—and there comes a throbbing silence, and out of that silence comes an excited whisper—'Ben King is dead'."

But his verses live.

Sadly enough (in Francis Thompson's language) we are products of "an age that is ceasing to produce child-like children." So engrossed we are with things of the earth, earthy, that it is with great difficulty we can pull ourselves to recapture the attitude of an inspired child; and unless we re-acquire this lost heritage of ours we shall not be able to taste and enjoy the delights of Ben King's verses. I wonder how many of my contemporaries would care to read the following poem with satisfaction:

GORD ONLY KNOWS

I saw an old beggar this mawnin', Lucindy,
De weathaw was col' an' bleak an' windy,
An' de fros' took hold
Ob'de end ob his nose.
Whar wus he goin' ?
Gord only knows, chile,
Gord only knows.

All he had on was an ole woolen jacket.
An' pants dat had done seed a mighty ha'd racket,
His shoes war all out,
Kase I saw his toes.
Whar wus he goin' ?
Gord only knows, chile,
Gord only knows.

He said his gran'chillun had turned him away,
Wid nuffing to eat on Las' Thanksgibin' Day.
Wid no ovacoat,
He looked about froze.
Whar wus he goin'?
Gord only knows, chile,
Gord only knows.

He lifted his han's, day was bony an' blue,
An axed me was dis hyar de main avenue,
Den walked ovah dar
To dose ten'ment rows.
Had he friends in dar?
Gord only knows, chile,
Gord only knows.

I doan bleb in treatin' a gran'fader so,
Kase someday it's comin' right squar back yer know.
An when we grow ole
An come to the snows,
Den who'll keer fo' us?
Gord only knows, chile,
Gord only knows.

God keeps account of the sparrows dat fall,
We stan' a-waiting we soon hyar him call.
Gord brings de wintah,
De rain an' de snows,
Gord makes de win' blow,
But jes' whar it goes,
Gord only knows, chile,
Gord only knows.

A picture of excruciating human misery this poem is. When you have read it, and you do not feel a lump rising in your throat, doubts may well arise as to whether you are a perfect specimen of *genus homo*! It is a terrible song of suffering inflicted by man on man, calling up to our mind Lear's wan visage withstanding the slings of the outrageous elements. *Homo homini lupus*!

That diminutive poem 'Cow Slips Away,' laden with atmosphere and with onomatopoetic phrases carrying with them the lisp of leaves

and the moan of far-away pines in the hushed noontide silence of a tropical savannah—

The tall pines pine,
The pawpaws pause,
And the bumble-bee bumbles all day;
The eavesdropper drops,
And the grasshopper hops,
While gently the cow slips away.—

is unique of its kind. ' 'This noon-drowsiness, this magic noon-sleep is an experience by itself.' The whole thing is playful, a mere toying with words. None-the-less, for sheer word-magic and atmosphere I recognise its kinship to that little well-known Shelleyan lyric (on a different theme)—

A window bird sate mourning for her love
Upon a wintry bough;
The frozen wind crept on above,
The freezing stream below.

There was no leaf upon the forest bare,
No flower upon the ground,
And little motion in the air
Except the mill-wheel's sound.

Shelley's piece is no childish juggling with words. But they both serve their purpose when they stir the quiet pools of the mind with a faery-reed that leaves ever-widening ripples.

The delightful poem 'De Massa' with its plaintive haunting refrain, too long to be quoted here, written in a dialect which lends to it an added charm, reads like a well-known parable of the Lord poured through a musician's pipe.

The subdued melancholy and death-like stillness in 'How Hank Died' can hardly find better expression. The pathetic simplicity of the last four lines where the poem reaches its consummation stabs us with a cool innocent sharpness:

"Good-bye," said the toiler "good-by every one."
Then somebody whispered: "The reaper is done."
His head fell back, and down by his side
His white hand dropped. That's how Hank died.

Only great writers can so electrify commonplace phrases and verbiage.

Take the following story written in a different vein:

BUT THEN

John Oswald MuGuffin he wanted to die
'Nd bring his career to an end;
Of course, well—he did n't say nothin' to me—
But that's what he told every friend.
So one afternoon he went down to the pier,
'Nd folks saw him actin' most terribly queer;
He prayed 'nd he sung, put his hand up to cough
An' everyone thought he was agoin' to jump off—

But he did n't.
He may jump to morrer
Morning at ten—
Said he was goin' to
Try it again—
But then.

John Oswald he said he was tired of the earth—
Of its turmoil and struggle and strife—
'Nd he made up his mind a long, long time ago
He was just bound t' take his own life;
'Nd the very next time 'at he started to shave,
Determined to die, he was goin' t' be brave;
So he stood up 'nd flourished the knife in despair
'Nd everyone thought 'at he'd kill himself there—

But he did n't.
He says 'at tomorrow
Morning at ten
He has a notion to
Try it again—
But then.

He went and bought arsenic, bought paris green,
'And cobalt 'nd all kinds of stuff
'Nd he took great delight in leaving it round—
Of course, that was done for a bluff—
Then he rigged up his room with a horrible thing,
That would blow his head off by pulling a string.
Folks heard the explosion—rushed up—on his bed
John Oswald was lyin'. They whispered, "He's dead."

But he was n't
He riz up 'nd said:
Could n't say when
He'd fully decide to
Try it again—
But then.

Here is matter for rollicking laughter; the matter is of universal interest; for are there not John Oswalds in every human community? Trace the source of this amusement and you will find that all these puffs of laughing gas come from a kettle filled with the eternal verities of human nature—the yearning, passionate, clinging to mundane life, the desire voiced by a Mimnermus in Church (celebrated in William Cory's poem):

All beauteous things for which we live
By laws of time and space decay.
But O, the very reason why
I clasp them, is because they die.

In these poems and in many others (*e.g.*, 'The Pessimist,' 'If My Wife Taught School,' 'The Old Spinning Wheel,' etc.) the human note rings clear and true. If they hold the thought they also touch the heart, while the verses swing between laughter and tears. Many a poem in this volume has the brightness of the California sunshine or the heaviness of an Oxford November. At times a dash of the unexpected surprises us (*cf.* 'Miss Bartholomew'), —a cavalry charge. Of youth, childhood, and love, he sings with intense sympathy and pathos. The gripping sadness of such poems—shall I call them songs?—as 'Keep Him a Baby,' 'The Tramp,' 'That Valentine,' cannot be easily ignored. Rhythm and picture-phrases have jointly conjured up a little world of fascination, a little world which is rounded with music and song. Like the folksongs of many nations, these verses, fraught with sense and nonsense, transport me with a peculiar lilt of their own which can only be obtained in that otherwise inaccessible country where Oberon rules.

Elsewhere we see Ben King playing see-saw among words and phrases like a wayward child at a village fair. Sometimes the evocative spell of his muse holds our attention. We catch the sound of galloping hoofs across wind-swept prairies. Now sad, now exultant, his strains mingle with the roses of life and the lilies of death. On

the first reading the following poem (*apparently* a page torn from Blake's Songs of Innocence)—

KEEP HIM A BABY

Keep him a baby as long as you can ;
Bless him, the dear little, cute, cunning man !
Keep him in dresses, and apron, and bib ;
Rock him to sleep in his own little crib.

Keep him a baby enjoying his toys—
Soon enough he will be one of the boys ;
Keep him a baby and keep him at home—
Manhood will very soon cause him to roam.

Ofttimes at night when he wakes for a frolic,
Don't get excited—it's only the colic ;
When he has reason your slumbers to mar,
Get up and walk with him, just as you are. . . .

Keep him a baby still taking his nap,
Don't you chastise him for any mishap ;
When he falls off a sofa or chair,
Don't stop his crying by calling a bear.

Keep him a baby and do as I say ;
Take him to ride in his carriage each day ;
Show him the bossie, the horse and the bow-wow ;
Soon you will hear him say "moo!" to the cow.

Keep him a baby : he'll soon be a boy,
Then he'll forsake every plaything and toy ;
Keep him a baby—he'll soon be a man,
Keep him a baby as long as you can.

—with its recurrent beats made me so drunk with music that I kept on chanting the lines for days together. Still I hum them occasionally when I am alone.

The light verses quoted so freely above may lead one to think that B. K. was not capable of really serious stuff. That this is a fallacy the following illustration which is inevitable in this connection will

show. It is an absorbing poem, having a smack of Shakespearian quality about it with just a dash of drollery which is Ben King:

THE FATES

Fortune came to a youth one day and dressed 'im
Up in his best. While Society smiled and caressed 'im
Along came Toil with a hammer to test 'im,
And all three pressed 'im.

Manhood came, as it usually does, to beard 'im;
Virtue stole in and sat by his side, but feared im;
Ambition came with wonderful schemes and steered 'im—
But all three queered 'im.

Wisdom came and knocked at his door: he spurned 'im;
Frivolity came on bicycle-wheels and turned 'im;
Remorse at last came up and stung 'im and burned 'im—
And all three churned 'im.

Poverty opened his door and found 'im and sought 'im;
Paralysis, crouched in a corner, had finally caught 'im;
Idleness claimed the prize because she'd taught 'im—
But all three got 'im.

Old Charon rowed up in time's canoe and ferried 'im
Over the creek, when an undertaker hurried 'im,
Dropped sand on his box, while a parson talked and worried 'im—
But the whole crowd buried 'im.

(Even here we hearken to the mocking tones of a satirist, however gentle; as though he views the seven stages of miserable man through a telescope of comedy.) This human saga brings to us a *quickened awareness* of the things which surround us and the things with which we cram the days of our life. Musical boys and girls are prone to love it, if it does not mean more to them.

It has been said of Homer Rodeheaver that he had the ability to pump music out of crowds by his peculiar gift of 'evangelizing the commonplace and banal.' The cadence of his songs had something unworldly and remote. Something hypnotic, Orpheus-like. Strange as it may sound to our ears to-day, he had his own solution for the troubles of the world: "Get people to sing together, and there is never need for a policeman. Get nations to do the same thing and there is no

need of navies and big guns." (!) (*Politicians, hear! hear!*)—Benjamin King belonged to this class of singers. Somewhere they are still 'pulling music out of the commonplace, drowning local animosities in a sea of melody.'

It was Francis Thompson—and who else could utter such truths?—who characterized Shelley's *The Cloud* as the most typically Shelleyan poem, in that it exhibits the child's faculty of make-believe raised to a high power. Ben King, who never claimed aristocratic parentage, who saw neither Eton nor Oxford, but who was merely a troubadour of the slums, possesses this child's faculty as much as the other greater poet. Here lies the popularity of the one as well as the excellence of the other. Look into the poems 'The Cat O' the Nine Tails,' 'The Flower's Ball,' 'The Mermaid'—and you will catch glimpses of Puckish eyes, hear the giggling of Puckish laughter, and if you care to peep through the foliage, you will see the winsome face of a child.

There is no favouritism in literature. I am not going to dub my favourite Ben a Shelley of the land of Columbus. Far from it. He is not even a *poet* in the full sense of the term. Nor did he aspire to be one. I have only tried to bring to light some of his lovable traits as a writer of verse. Lovable he surely is; we should not grudge him at least a third-class ticket to Parnassus, where he will find himself in congenial company (somewhat lower down in the gallery, of course,) in a gay club which may count among its other members Edward Lear the Jester, Lewis Carroll the Nursery Wizard, Owen Seaman the Clown-Prince of Beachcombers, and probably presided over by His Most Humourous Excellency Mark Twain.

In England Ben had, and has, many compeers. Besides the persons just named, there was the eighteenth-century poet James Hogg who had this touch of deathless youth. Mr. de la Mare's 'guileful guilelessness' has sometimes a streak of the nonsensical, and, often, of the fantastic; and at the same time it cares for things for which children care. Their popularity and *noodlery* is not confined among children only. Like Ben King's, their verses cater for all. A dip into their pages, and we rise bathed in the luminous streams of life, God's plenty. The book on which I have dwelt so long differs not a little from its fellows in that it relies for its effects mainly on its stirring appeal to childhood (with capital C) which lies deep down in everyone of us. Its success lies in the fact that it wonderfully exhumes that

holy sepulchred moment of our lives, freed of the crust which time has laid on it. In other words, these verses make a delightful bridge, strewn with smiles and interspersed with a few conspicuous, tear-dimmed spots, connecting fun and frolic with things of deeper significance, the frisky child with the moody poet. Many of these verses, I have shown, have their roots deep in the human heart, watered by human emotions, drawing sap and pith from their earth-bound destinies; but, without any reserve, they have shot up their leaves and tendrils to the caresses of the heavenly breezes, shimmering with the magic of life, luring child-mind with their beckoning burden of silver nutmegs and golden pears.*

* *Ben King's Verse*. Edited by Nixon Waterman. Chicago. Forbes & Company, 1917. My thanks are due to this book of verses from which all the illustrations are drawn and which, in fact, is responsible for the writing of the present essay.—H. P. C.

LIES CHILDREN TELL

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THE distinction between truth and falsehood is an adult achievement, a product of the mature cultural activity of man. It is after ages of experience and striving, of slow but steadfast efforts at rationalizing human experience and civilizing human society that we, adults, have been able to organize our logic and build up a standard of truth. Nor is the devotion to this ideal of truth inherent in human nature. It is the result of conscious realisation that civilized life, or for that matter any kind of community life, would not be possible unless people were reliable, unless they could be trusted, unless they respected and practised truthfulness. Science and culture owe their very existence to man's devotion to veracity, for without it virtues like accuracy, sincerity, impartiality, prudence, research and the like will have no significance to the entire subversion of our institutional life. That is why each generation has taken pains to transmit to the next the value of truthfulness through teaching, preaching and example. To speak truth and pursue it has been made out to be the most important of our moral, social, religious and scientific obligations. The love of truth is ingrained in our culture, in our everyday thought and action. But though truthfulness is so close to us as to form an integral part of our culture, each of us is not truthful to begin with. There is no instinct of truthfulness, it is not a native disposition. It is something to be learned by the child. Like punctuality, temperance, spelling or cycling, truthfulness is a habit and like them is subject to the law of repetition and frequency in conative experience—repetition of the same response to the same recurring situation adds one more hammer-blow to the building in of habits. Thus it is in the course of gradual upbringing that the pressure of our adult methods of reasoning forces the child into the moulds of our own logicality. In the early years impulse reigns supreme in the life of the child. All that is done is done on impulse. The child has no thought, no ideas, not even attention and gradually through love of his parents and other adults about him, is led to

imitate their logical manifestations. He goes on doing so until in the end he has not only come to think logically but is unable to think in any other way.

In view of these considerations it seems perfectly irrational (1) to expect the child (*a*) to know the distinction between truth and falsehood, and (*b*) to follow the ideal of truthfulness in actual life ; and (2) to judge his conduct as deceitful and immoral. Young children take time to be initiated into adult ways of thought and conduct and it is much later that the creature of impulse grows into a reasoning and reasonable being. Thus it is very necessary for all those engaged in the task of upbringing normally truthful children to approach their patients patiently, with understanding and sympathy, and try to gauge adequately the situations and motives which persuade and prompt children to tell what we stamp as "lies." Lying is not simply disagreement with facts nor is truthfulness a mere accuracy of description or correctness of statement. It means sincerity and frankness in one's dealings with others and in one's appreciation of his own conduct and character. Cases occur in which a statement does correspond to facts or at least seems to do so, and yet it involves a contemptible falsehood. Prevarication is a common form of telling falsehood and the instance of a child who has concealed stolen sweets and says he has not got any is a case in point. No doubt he has not got any on his person but he is deliberately suppressing facts for he knows where the packet of sweets is. Such cases of mental reservation even when agreement with facts is maintained are condemned as lies. On the other hand, as often happens with many children, statements do not correspond with facts and yet they cannot be condemned as false because the speaker either does not understand the situation he describes or his powers and means of expression fail him. Again children's wishes and imagination get the better of them and they are unable to mark off truth from falsehood, fiction from reality. The child who tells you that his paper aeroplane flies very far over several towns is not lying. No doubt what he says is not true but he is not lying for everything he tells you has a proper place in his mind. There is no intention on his part to deceive, prevaricate or dissemble. Such lies are not lies.

Our problem in this article is threefold: firstly, to analyse the causes of those of children's lies which are not lies and which are mostly due to his immature powers of observation, interpretation and

expression ; secondly, to understand those motives and situations which prompt and persuade children to tell actual lies ; and thirdly, to suggest preventive and curative treatment of the evil habit of lying and point out some constructive measures to cultivate the ideals of honour and truthfulness among children.

LIES THAT ARE NOT LIES

Adults have an exaggerated notion of the power of reasoning among children. Consequently long before children are able to discriminate between truth and falsehood, their statements are judged to be true and false by adults. But such judgments and the intolerance that very often follows in child upbringing only demonstrate adult ignorance of children's nature and needs. During the early years while children are learning to talk and sometimes thereafter, they are at a definitely pre-logical stage and do not understand what are obvious contradictions and nonsense from the point of view of adults. They learn new words and expressions and repeat them in as many contexts as they possibly can for the sheer joy of saying something, of expressing their feeling. This joy grows all the more intense when they know that anything new they utter excites all adults around them. They feel flattered. When a child makes noise, for example, he is told, "Child, you will be slapped if you are naughty." The word *slap* catches his fancy, he has not followed what the father has said though he knows from his face that he is not very encouraging. He runs straight to the mother and shouts, "Mummy, I have slapped father, I have slapped. . . ." The mother actually gives him a slap for telling lies. The child is nonplussed but thinks "Never mind, I shall coin another," "and merrily goes on bungling with new words and expressions just for fun, under the dictates of impulse and fancy. Speech exists for adult society to utter truths but for the child who is just learning to speak words are instruments of romancing. They arise on the wings of emotion and are used indiscriminately for the mere joy of being able to speak. Grown-ups call this lying, but the child is at a stage when he has no knowledge either of truth or of falsehood or of any obligation to pursue one and avoid the other.

Children are generally truthful, they try to say what they mean but what they mean is obscured by the limited powers of their

expression. Their vocabulary is poor and their hold on this vocabulary is poorer. They are not able to call up suitable words for conveying their meaning and even when they do succeed according to their own mind, their standard falls far short of that of adults so much so that the latter begin suspecting the motives of the former and call them "liars." A good number of young children's lies are not really lies but inaccuracies of expression. It is mostly because they successfully perceive and learn to imitate words before they know their significance. Thus some of them acquire habits of incorrect expression.

Often children's statements do not agree with facts because their sensory equipment is not able to recognise facts in their true light. The eye and the ear, the two main sources of knowledge, take time to mature and defects of sensation, of hearing, seeing and feeling, hamper the recognition of truth. The child is at a low perceptual level, he needs a larger and stronger stimulus and needs it to be given in just the same way for a due recognition of objects. B—was sent to the drawing room to see if his mother was there among other ladies who had come for tea. The mother was in a different dress and also in different surroundings. B—failed to recognise her and returned to report that she was not there. "The liar" was all the reward he got. The amount and strength of the stimulus to call up a percept varies with the development of the individual. Adults recognise people from a distance, by just seeing their backs, gait or other slight movement. Children fail to call up the same percepts by any of these sensory clues and their reports are dubbed as lies.

Young children, creatures of impulse and phantasy as they are, have a weak hold on reality. The immediate and the actual in their environment is for ever shading and disappearing into the creations of their fancy, their memories and dreams. They are unable to distinguish the fleeting images aroused by their wishes from actual situations. It is because the images of children are more intense and more vivid, so much so that it becomes very difficult, if not impossible, for them to distinguish between memory images and images of imagination. Some children cannot even distinguish between percepts and images. With very few associations of ideas, percepts, memories and fancies hang loose and get mixed up so that any one of them is mistaken for another. Children lack criteria by which to judge either the actuality of occurrences or the possibilities of their fancies.

In such a state of mind when imagery is vivid and rich and the distinction between images and percepts does not exist, the child is veritably a monarch of all he surveys. Whatever he wishes for fancy supplies readily. Such confusions so long as they last, result in conduct, which, though normal, is certainly questionable. One consequence is what we call "white lies," the kind of falsification which makes children tell big tales of what happened in school, on the road or at play. While reporting events that actually took place, their fancies, wishes and suppositions bring in details to garnish facts so much so that the story grows in re-telling, particularly in the direction in which they would like it to happen. This tendency is all the stronger among young children and works far more easily with them for make-believe comes to their help and if there are any details which are not pleasant to them they always pretend that these did not happen at all. Their wish plays the fairy wand, jagged edges are smoothed away, the outlines of events are recast into shapes which adults cannot see through. B—is afraid of dogs. Returning from school a dog just gives him an angry look. Reaching home he builds up such a story that he was attacked by a dog, nay, several dogs. They all barked at him and would have torn him into pieces but for his pluck in running away, climbing a high ground and pelting them with volleys of stones.

Such lies are not lies. They do not involve any intention to deceive. Children really think that the course of events happened thus or dwell so much on them in the light of their wishes that any differences in their minds between what actually happened and what they made up through make-believe disappears. The false reports which result from such confusions are true pictures of what the child thinks.

Again children are highly suggestable. Ask a young child, "Did you eat a mango or an orange?" and in nine cases out of ten the reply will be "Orange." Witness a wounded child being dressed. He feels pain long before the bandage is touched. B—'s mother asked him one evening to look for father. He returned and reported a number of times that the father was coming long before the latter arrived. Ask a child what sights he wants to see. Then blacken the inside of a lid of a tin box. Ask him to close one eye and apply the blackened lid to the other. Now go on suggesting sights to the child and he will proceed to give you actual descriptions. This succeeds with many children.. But are they liars? Low perceptual

developement, very vivid imagination and suggestibility do not let them see things as they are.

Again, many of his falsehood are defects of interpretation. His experience is very limited and all new experience is interpreted in the light of the scanty knowledge he has already acquired. Analogies and wishes play havoc with his imagination and observation, and he tries to assimilate his new knowledge in the light of his wishes and vocabulary. The child who calls eggs pills or boiled eggs potatoes is trying to squeeze new objects into his own meagre nomenclature. He cannot be said to be lying.

When they tell Lies

But why do children tell lies when they really do so? By far the most powerful influence is imitation of adult attitude and conduct. If the child is brought up in an environment where truth is not held in high esteem, where deliberate untruths are often told to check the child's inconvenient curiosity, where careless and silly answers are given to his honest thirst for knowledge, where adults emphasise their orders with all sorts of threats and promises which they never intend to fulfil and which the child soon discovers they never intend to fulfil, where promises are easily made but seldom carried out, where parents are dodging unpleasant situations by obvious excuses, where the child is constantly hearing the truthfulness of one parent being questioned by the other, it is but natural that the child will have very little regard for truth and very little incentive for practising it. Often the child is made a party to parental deceptions by being asked to tell a visitor that father or mother is not at home, often he himself is deceived and cheated in his dealings with adults, often adults indulge in bantering and find pleasure in the ready acceptability with which children swallow all sorts of wonderful fabrications. How is the child to learn honesty and integrity when he does not see any in the conduct of those with whom he comes in contact and whom alone he must imitate. There is no reason to be surprised or upset when your child eats a forbidden "ladoo" and tells you that an eagle has taken it away. It was only the day before that you yourself had given the same reply when you had put away the "ladoo" and when he had asked for it. Later on he saw the "ladoo," was impressed by your manner of successfully evading the issue and imitated

it Indeed our attitude towards children's lies would be far more charitable, if we were to record the number of untruths adults tell children.

Most often children tell lies to save themselves from punishment. Much lying among children is an instinctive defence reaction. Even adults are not free from it. We lie to others when we are afraid to have them know what we know to be the truth about ourselves. Punishment that is constant, severe and out of all proportion to the demands of the situation, leads to lying as a means of protection Very early a child comes to know what words or actions will bring disapproval or punishment and whenever he has done anything which is guilty in his eyes and which he thinks will bring punishment he tries to escape by means of a fiction from having to stand up to the painful in life. Often parents and teachers wishing to eradicate lies give more punishment but they give the child all the more reasons to fear and consequently to tell lies. Scharlieb divides children's lies into three kinds: (*a*) the lie romantic, (*b*) the lie inaccurate, and (*c*) the lie politic. It is the last, she rightly insists, that should be condemned whole-heartedly. "The vile variety of untruth begotten by cowardice and mothered by self-interest, the untruth designed to procure unmerited advantage, or to avert well-merited punishment, is the very essence of meanness and when detected its true nature should be carefully pointed out."[1]

Some parents are in the habit of taunting their children to force confessions of misdemeanours. They would say, "It is no use lying to me my boy. I know the whole truth of the matter and you better make a clean breast of it than tell a lie which would be another count to your bad conduct." Such an attitude is sure to touch the child to the quick and put him in a defiant mood so that he coins worse and more ingenious lies to test the omniscience of his parents.

A number of children's lies may be accounted for by their tendency to boast to allay their sense of inferiority. They wish to bolster up their own self-importance by exaggerating some situation in which they played a part. The wish to be clever gets the better of them and fictitious details are roped in to make the narrative interesting or to impress the listener with a heroic sense of their own accomplishment. Some of these children are really inferior and fail

[1] The Psychology of Childhood.

to achieve what they so ardently wish to. When they find reality too tough, they seek compensation by coining fictitious stories in which they show off their achievements.

Children too have their loyalties and often tell lies to their enemies or all those with whom they come in conflict. Again the tendency to be secretive may be the cause of a number of lies that children tell.

Treatment

Lying is not abnormal. All children, as all adults, tell lies, presistently and universally. Parents should not feel alarmed, grieved or shocked if they discover one day that their child has told a lie. The vice is pretty widespread and building in children a healthy attitude of respect for truth and re-educating those who have not been taught from the beginning to practise veracity is a great uphill task which parents and teachers should undertake with patience, perseverance, understanding and sympathy.

The first step is the true diagnosis of the cause and to this end it is very necessary that parents should try to understand each individual child and investigate why he tells lies rather than proceed to give him general advice or treatment. It may be that the child is deceiving deliberately and intentionally with a full prevision of what he is doing or that he himself was deceived by circumstances over which he had no control. In the former case a searching inquiry should be made into the motives which led him to tell falsehoods and he should be gradually educated to appreciate and practise truthfulness and in the latter case he should be trained to habits of accurate observation and expression rather than a fruitless appeal should be addressed to his conscience which he has not so far developed.

Children brag, exaggerate and make up fantastic stories and this is all too common. It may be that they are doing so for the fun of it, just to astonish or mystify those about them, to draw their attention and to win their admiration. This tendency to show off involving a certain amount of exaggeration and misstatement is perfectly normal to active children, thirsting for approval, and rest assured that there is no danger of their developing into criminal liars or cheats. Let them alone, put up with their lies, with age they will outgrow this trait. Or the tendency to improvise stories may be due

to the vividness of their imagination which compels them to present creatures of fancy in the garb of fact. Such romancing of little children should not be interfered with. Imagination is " at once the web and the woof and the glittering embroidery of life " and should be greatly prized in children for it is the source of all creative work. But while it is undesirable to crush it, it is dangerous to let it run riot. Too little imagination will make the child stupid and too much will make him a useless day-dreamer. Therefore follow a middle course. Side by side with make-believe stories in which he finds a healthy outlet for his creativenese, ask him to describe real stories about everyday life and incidents, *e.g.*, where does the table come from? What shops are there on your way to school? What did you do in the morning? are handy questions round which real factual stories may be built up. A child will not be able to distinguish between fact and fancy unless he knows fancy as well as fact and he should not develop one at the cost of the other. Lastly children may be given to exaggerating because they are too timid and weak to face reality and have developed inferiority complex. Such children need very careful handling—an attitude of encouragement, sympathy and applause—to develop self-confidence and courage. Most of them will be found to be under-nourished and they should be given wholesome diet and exercise. At the same time tasks well within their capacity should be prescribed and on completion they should be profusely praised to help them to build up self-confidence.

Some children are led to lie because they are at a pre-logical stage at which distinction between truth and falsehood, between fact and fancy, observation and imagination, does not exist. Most of them are quite young. Their lives should be enriched with a variety of vivid experiences by taking them out for walks and pointing out several objects and scenes. They may be taken to a museum, a zoo, a variety shop or a riverside and taught to distinguish between experiences various and numerous by touching, feeling, seeing and hearing them. This will help them to bridge the pre-logical stage. The tangible world outside will help to dispel their confusion between fact and fancy and save them from over-developing their imagination and phantasy. Parents should train them in expression by talking to them sympathetically while correct words are quietly substituted for incorrect ones. Such lies as are due to lack of discrimination and inaccuracies of expression will soon tend to disappear. Again whenever

they tell too absurd a lie, a story that has no basis in reality, help them to check and verify absurdities by an appeal to actual facts.

But the child may be lying to save his skin, to escape punishment that he believes will follow conduct his parents do not approve. Fear is a very powerful impulse and if parents understand that in the throes of fear grown-up people do wrose things than tell a falsehood, their attitude towards children will be more charitable. Children should be helped to realise that lying is a very unworthy and ineffective way of evading the consequences of wrong-doing, that truth-telling pays and that a frank and honest confession will mitigate the offence. Instead of punishing them more severely and giving them all the more reason to fear and consequently to tell lies or even instead of appealing to their conscience and preaching veracity, parents should awaken them to a strong sense of self-respect so that they look upon lying as unworthy and undignified.

Do not restrict, intimidate, challenge or punish the child. The earliest lies that children tell are denials of anything ugly they have done. You can avoid these denials by asking, "Why did you do that?" instead of asking "Did you do that?" If he is innocent he will surely present his denial and the proof of his innocence in the most emphatic way. If you still suspect his guilt, do not challenge or bully him. Gather evidence from other sources and do not compel the child to testify against himself. Do not ever force confessions. Approach him in a sympathetic and affectionate attitude with a view to help him to solve his difficulties rather than create a new problem for him by forcing confidence instead of gaining or inspiring it.

Nor is it desirable to worry too much about children's lies. Some parents are so anxious that their children should not tell lies that they try to verify every statement that the child makes and because of their anxiety, see falsehood in many of his acts and statements, though it is not at all present. The same can be said of teachers. These parents and teachers indirectly induce children to practise more ingenious lies. What is needed more keenly is a greater trust and confidence in children.

Finally never try to dissuade children from lying before they can understand truth-telling and lying, and can distinguish one from the other, else you will only be helping to suggest to them to take to lying.

By far the most important requisite in inculcating habits of veracity in children is that parents and guardians should themselves practise it. Never tell a lie in the presence of children, is a maxim which cannot be too often repeated. Much lying children indulge in is picked up from elders and it is very unwise to tell a falsehood in the hearing of a child. "Thus" says Fritz Wittels, "parents have an additional ground for speaking the truth when they reflect that their own example is for the good of their children. Children, therefore, serve as a buttress to the moral integrity of their parents. Unfortunately conventional lying is so ingrained in the life of a civilised community that, with the best will in the world, no one can adhere strictly to the truth."[1] When parents find that they cannot carry out their promises which they made in their moments of exultation, that their threats are either impossible or dangerous or that they have to excuse themselves in unpleasant situations, they should always prefer to take children into their confidence and offer a careful but frank explanation. Such explanations will go a long way to impress upon the child that truthfulness is expected, that there is such a thing as a moral standard of truth and that in actual life everybody must conform to it.

[1] Set the Children Free.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Indic Studies in America

"America and Indic Studies" was the subject of an informative lecture delivered by Dr. Horace Poleman at a meeting held at the Royal Asiatic Society Hall. "In America," said Dr. Poleman, "academic activity in Indic studies has been limited to a few universities, and these move toward effective presentation of the broad scope of Indic culture to the student world. American institutions can be proud, however, of this academic research. The names and work of Warren, Whitney, Hopkins. Bloomfield and Lanman form a glorious chapter in the history of Indic studies.

"However, India in the first half of this century has become headline news, not as a land of vague philosophies and abstruse tongues, but as a developing nation with a live culture. We in America have seen the need of a wider approach to Indic studies in educational work, without, of course, relaxing one bit the intense research in India's past, for there lie the roots of her culture. And many of these roots have not yet been traced to their tips.

"There are at present even large universities in America offering competent linguistic training in the Indic field. A few others offer something on the art, history, sociology and philosophy.

"It is a fortunate sign that agencies which have at heart the promotion of knowledge for the good of all have in recent years been steadily increasing the amount of their attention to Far Eastern civilisation, our cultural neighbour across the Pacific, with which we have close and dynamic contact. More attention than at present should also be given to Islamic culture and the peoples living by it today, in the Near East, and elsewhere in Asia and Africa.

"If trade were to be the extent of Western contact with India, we might not see in it alone a sufficient basis for studying her culture but so narrow a view of our prospective relations with the country is unwarranted, as it is in the case of the Far East. India's highly organised and relatively homogeneous civilisation is bound to come in ever closer touch with our own, for as intercourse between remote parts of the world becomes increasingly easy, India's relative intellectual isolation must decrease along with her relative economic isolation. Her achievements in the art of living are at our disposal, as ours are at hers; her problems, too will become ours as those of groups and the Far East have been brought into our life. We shall need to reconcile our civilisation and hers, to the change of both. For she can contribute to us, as we are now contributing to her."

Dacca University to Establish Employment Bureau in Calcutta

At a meeting of the Executive Council of the Dacca University held recently, it was decided to establish an Employment Bureau office in Calcutta and to appoint an Honorary Officer for one year to hold charge of it.

Students in Great Britain

A Press Note issued by the Goyenment of India states: –

After the outbreak of war enquiries were made through the Departments of the Government of India and Provincial Governments as to the number of boys and girls, both European and Indian, at schools in Europe and particularly in Great Britain. The parents of these boys and girls were invited to say if they desired educational facilities to be provided for their children in India and if so whether they were in favour of the establishment of a special school or schools at Ootacamund or some other place with a suitable climate, or whether they preferred arrangments on a more local basis. As a result of these enquiries it was ascertained that on January 1, 1940, there were just over 200 children in need of education facilities, but that the parents of the great majority preferred arrangements of a local kind. The Directors of Public Instruction of Bengal, Bombay and Madras undertook to make such arrangements as were possible for the children residing in Eastern, Western and Southern India respectively and the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India undertook a similar responsibility so far as those residing in North Central and Northern India were concerned. Parents were put in touch with schools of good standing which had vacancies and in many cases schools extended their accommodation in order to cope with the applications received. By these means the needs of a considerable proportion of the children concerned have been met.

The problem, however, has been accentuated by recent events in Europe. A considerable number of children have arrived in this country recently and more are expected during the next two or three months. Active consideration is now being given to the possibility of further extending the arrangements already made or of making new ones where the necessity arises, but until definite information is available as to the number of additional children to be catered for and their distribution by sexes, ages and probable places of residence in India, final plans cannot be made. Parents residing in Eastern India may obtain further information from Dr. W. A. Jenkins, officer on special duty in the Department of Public Instruction, Bengal, while those residing in Western and Southern India should apply to the Directors of Public Instruction in Bombay and Madras respectively. Parents living in other parts of India should apply direct to the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, Simla, or New Delhi, for information as to the facilities available.

It should be made clear that except in cases of special hardship the fees charged will be so adjusted as to cover the whole cost of the educational facilities provided and that in no case will any expenditure in this connection be debited against the funds normally available for public education.

Madras University

A supplementary Convocation of the Madras University was held on Aug. 10 at the Senate House, Sir Mahomed Usman, Vice-Chancellor, presiding. Four hundred and forty-seven candidates, including 89 women, received their degrees.

Students and India's Defence

A resolution according whole-hearted support to the proposal for compulsory conscription of University students for military training and

service and requesting the authorities to take immediate steps to introduce such training was passed at a meeting of University students under the auspices of the Students Union of Madras University. Mr. S. Satyamurthi, M.L.A. (Central), presided.

Mr. Satyamurthi said that the present war with its so many attendant evils had brought out one fact, that India's defence was India s primary concern. It was essential, therefore, that students should be given compulsory military training in all arms. The speaker pleaded that Indian defence should be organised on a vast scale. The question of imparting compulsory military training would come up for consideration at the meeting of the Madras University Senate very shortly. The Annamalai University recently considered a similar resolution. The speaker hoped that the Andhra, Mysore and Travancore Universities would follow suit and introduce military training.

Military Training to Students

By 52 votes to 17 the Senate of the Madras University passed a resolution at a special meeting of the Senate urging upon the Government the imperative necessity for imparting military training to all men students and nurse's training to all women students undergoing any course of studies in the University Training Course and making all suitable and possible arrangements for training in all centres having colleges affiliated to the University.

Sir Mahomed Usman, the Vice-Chancellor, presided.

The opposition to the proposal was based on the ground that it was not necessary to introduce compulsion and that military training would generally interfere with collegiate education.

The mover of the resolution said it was necessary to make the country military-minded and this could be done only by imparting military training to their young men.

Prof. K. S. Krishnan

"Some Scientific Reminiscences" was the subject of an interesting lecture delivered by Prof. K. S. Krishnan at the Science Club, Calcutta, at their monthly meeting. Prof. Krishnan spoke on some of the famous physical laboratories and institutes in Europe and, in particular, on the Cavendish and the Mond Laboratories in Cambridge, the Royal Institution in London, the Poincaré and the Radium Institute in Paris, the Cryogenic Laboratory in Leyden, and the important parts which they have played in the making and the advancement of modern physics. He also gave an account of his experiences in some of the international conferences, and emphasised the great usefulness of these conferences in establishing and maintaining cultural contacts between the scientists of these different democratic countries.

Social Use of Science

The members of the Science Club, Calcutta, recently met Professor Satyendra Nath Bose, Dean of the Faculty of Science, Dacca University,

who is well-known for his work in theoretical physics, at a tea party. Professor Bose addressing the members dwelt upon some important facts in connection with the place of science in a scheme of national uplift and the service which a properly organised fraternal organisation like the Science Club can render to the community. The speaker recalled earlier days when an organisation of this sort could not be brought into being. The times have changed, he said, and scientific impetus coming now from many sources has made the existence of a Science Club possible. The speaker brought it home to the audience that now-a-days theoretical research must find its application in life, from which values or profits must accrue not simply to one individual but to the race, to the community at large. Western nations particularly understand the social use of science.

Dacca Recognises Travancore Degree

The Executive Council of the Dacca University, accepting the recommendation of the Academic Council, has decided to recognise the degrees conferred by the University of Travancore, on a reciprocal basis, as equivalent to the corresponding degrees conferred by the University of Dacca, for purposes of admission to a course of study for a degree.

Miscellany.

FAMILY ALLOWANCE IN FRANCE

As in Belgium, but at an even earlier date, family allowances first developed in France on the individual initiative of the employers. But while in Belgium the Act of 1930 made important innovations, establishing, for example, a national equalisation fund, the French Act of 1932 did little more than confirm the practice previously adopted by private initiative, although it made the payment of family allowances compulsory in industry, commerce, the liberal professions and agriculture, special public administrative regulations being issued to regulate the payment of allowances to agricultural workers.

The legislation was applied by stages during succeeding years. No particular difficulty was encountered in industry, commerce or the liberal professions, which were brought within the scope of the system by various Decrees issued between 12th August, 1933 and 8th March, 1937. In agriculture, the introduction of the system was more difficult and met with some opposition, which was not expected. In a report to the Senate on 15th December, 1931, M. Darteyre, Senator for Puy-de-Dome, mentioned among the obstacles that would have to be overcome " the special conditions of agricultural holdings, their scattered nature, the conflicting interests involved, the difficulty of recruiting members, and above all the fact that the people's minds had not been sufficiently prepared to welcome the idea." But when allowances were granted to workers in industry and commerce it was essential to provide them also for agricultural workers, since otherwise the movement from the country to the towns would have received an added stimulus. The Decree containing public administrative regulations for the extension of the Act of 1932 to agriculture was issued on 5th August, 1936, and the decision to apply this Decree was taken in the various departments, in collaboration with the Chambers of Agriculture and other agricultural associations, at various dates between 16th November, 1936 and 1st November, 1937. A Decree of 14th November, 1936, laid down for the various Departments minimum scales of allowances identical with those in force in industry, commerce, and the liberal professions.

The year 1938 brought with it an extensive reform of the system of allowances in all branches of economic activity. The desire to raise the birth rate in France led the Government to contemplate new measures, and these were taken in the following years and involved the transformation, centralisation, and general application of the system of family allowances. In agriculture this meant that allowances were paid to practically all the rural population, including agricultural workers employed for less than 75 days in the year, members of farmers' families working with them in a position similar to that of wage-earners, and even rural small holders, tenant farmers, and share tenants. In industry, commerce, and the liberal professions, a Decree of 12th November, 1938, introduced the first transformation in the system established by the Act of 11th March, 1932, which had remained practically unchanged since that time. One of the main changes was a considerable increase in the pro-

portion of wages constituted by family allowances and the fixing of a definite ratio between the rates of allowances and the wages paid.

All these regulations and the various other measures for providing family assistance were revised and consolidated by a Presidential Decree of 29th July, 1939. One of the main purposes of this Decree was stated to be to ensure that no family whatsoever should be excluded from the benefit of the assistance granted to large families. Family allowances were, therefore, extended to all persons engaged in production, including workers other than wage-earners in industry, commerce, and the liberal professions. At the same time all existing schemes of family allowances, including those set up under the 1932 Act and the independent schemes for civil servants, Government employees, municipal employees, and workers in public services operated under concessions from the State departments, or other local authorities, were absorbed and united in the new scheme. Any inequalities in the treatment of different classes of beneficiaries disappeared, the rates of allowances being fixed in accordance with rules which are the same for all. On the other hand, the system of financing the scheme is a further application of the principle of solidarity which is at the basis of the whole idea of family allowances; certain beneficiaries—the workers—are exempt from contributing altogether, while others—the employers—are required to contribute to the scheme, and the State also makes a substantial contribution. C. Hoffner in the *International Labour Review* (Geneva, August, 1940).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

TAGORE IN THE LATIN STATEMENT OF THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY

No statement made by human beings about a fellow man can be sweeter, humaner, more elegant and more appreciative than that in Latin prepared by the University of Oxford about our Rabindra Nath Tagore and read out to him on the occasion of the conferment of the honorary doctorate at *Visva-Bharati*, Santi-Niketan, on August 7. The statement reads in English as follows:—

"You have before you India's most distinguished son, in whose family no more perfect illustration can be found of that verse of Horace: A noble line gives proof of noble sires.' Let me recall his grand-father, the member of a new religious faith and a new fraternity, who was one of the first of his countrymen to cross the estranging sea and visit the distant land of Britain; his father, a religious leader of singular rectitude and burning faith, whose piety and wisdom distinguished him among all his country men. I recall his cousin, the great musician, who was honoured by the University of Oxford many years ago; his gifted sister, and the first of her sex in India to attempt a novel of Indian life; his three brothers, of whom one was the first Indian member of the Indian Civil Service, a second was distinguished among his contemporaries in philosophy, and a third in literature and the arts. But the fourth brother, who is present before you now, has by his life, his genius and his character augmented so greatly the fame of his house that, did his piety and modesty not forbid, none would have a better right to say in Scipio's famous phrase, 'My life has crowned the virtues of my line.'

"You see in him a great scholar and a great artist, both in prose and in verse; one who has written poetry, romance, satire, history; who has left scarcely any field of literature untouched and has touched nothing that he has not adorned. How rarely has such richness of imagination

been combined with such elegance of style! How astonishing is the range of his versatile genius—wisdom and laughter, terror and delight, the power of stirring our deepest emotions! And yet we are always conscious of his essential humanity, of a man who thinks nothing beneath his notice, if only it is concerned with mankind.

"You see in him a musician who seems to obey no rules and yet has invented a thousand new melodies; a distinguished philosopher, deeply versed in natural philosophy, in ethics and in theology, and who has at the last achieved the complete serenity of mind sought by how many and won by how few!

"Yet all dedicated as he has been to those pursuits he has not lived for himself alone; for deeming good education for the young, the most venerable of all institutions, he has been the founder and director of this famous academy, whose purpose is by wise methods to inculcate among its students a love of pure learning.

"Let it also be said that he has not valued a sheltered life so far above the public good as to hold himself wholly aloof from the dust and heat of the world outside; for there have been times when he has not scorned to step down into the market-place; when, if he thought that a wrong had been done, he has not feared to challenge the British Raj itself and the authority of its Magistrates; and when he has boldly corrected the faults of his own fellow citizens.

"What more can I say? Here before you is the myriad-minded poet and writer, the musician famous in his art, the philosopher proved both in word and deed, the fervent upholder of learning and sound doctrine, the ardent defender of public liberties, one who by the sanctity of his life and character has won for himself the praise of all mankind.

"And so with the unanimous approval of the Vice-Chancellor, the doctors, and the masters of the University, I present to you a man most dear to all the Muses, Rabindranath Tagore, already a Nobel Prizeman, in order that he may receive the laurel wreath of Oxford also and be admitted to the degree of Doctor of Literature *honoris causa.*"

Every word in this statement is thoroughly realistic and positively true. And yet the idealistic sentiment as well as expression are throughout palpable and profound. This is a document of extraordinary importance in inter-human relations.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE CROSS-CULTURAL SURVEY

For a number of years, the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University has been conducting a general program of research in the social sciences, with particular reference to the areas common to, and marginal between, the special sciences of sociology, anthropology, psychology, and psychiatry. In 1937, as one of the specific research projects on the anthropological and sociological side of this program, the Cross-Cultural Survey was organized.[1]

[1] Based on a paper presented to the American Anthropological Association in Chicago, Dec. 28, 1939. For further information on the research program of the Institute of Human Relations, and upon the relation of the Cross-Cultural Survey thereto, see M. A. May, "Report of the Director of the Institute of Human Relations for the Academic Years 1937-1938, 1938-1939," *Bulletin of Yale University*, series 35, XXVII (1939), 1-35.

A year of previous experience in collaborating with other social scientists in research and discussion had made it clear to the anthropologists associated with the Institute that the rich resources of ethnography, potentially of inestimable value to workers in adjacent fields, were practically inaccessible to them. Working in the laboratory, the clinic, or the community, the psychologists, sociologists, and others made frequent requests of the cultural anthropologists for comparative data on various aspects of behaviour among primitive peoples, sometimes they wanted perspective, sometimes suggestions, sometimes a check on their own scientific formulations. In trying to assist them, the anthropologists found that they could usually cite a limited number of cases from their own knowledge and give an impressionistic judgment as to the general status of ethnography on the questions. For scientists, however, this was often not enough. What guarantee was there that the remembered cases were representative, or the impressions valid? What was needed was access to a dependable and objective sample of the ethnographic evidence. Only rarely was it possible to refer the seeker to an adequate summary of the evidence; in the great majority of instances, he could satisfy his scientific curiosity only by resorting to the vast descriptive literature itself and embarking on a research task of discouraging magnitude.

An actual example will illustrate the difficulty. Several years ago, a group of physiologists, working in the laboratory, had come to a series of conclusions with respect to the relationship between periodicity of eating and bodily health as reflected in measurements of weight, stature, etc. It occurred to them that the literature of anthropology should contain data by which their conclusions might be independently tested, and they referred to the author for advice. He was able to tell them that ethnographers customarily report the relevant data on eating habits—the number of meals per day, their temporal spacing, the degree of regularity or irregularity in eating, etc.—and that physical anthropologists psesent the pertinent somatological information. Since the material had been gathered, it could be assembled and the crucial correlations drawn. To have done so, however, would have required several months of research, since the data had nowhere been summarized and it would have been necessary to ransack an immense amount of descriptive literature to assemble it. Understandably enough, the physiologists were discouraged from undertaking this promising but formidable task.

Other sciences have systems of abstracts, bibliographical aids, and quantities of secondary collections, by means of which the researcher can quickly track down the pertinent data and acquaint himself with previous research on any subject. With a few notable exceptions,[1] anthropology lacks such aids. Its materials are widely scattered in descriptive reports an immense number of which must be scanned if adequate information is desired on any particular topic. The factual data of sociology are in a similarly chaotic condition. It became apparent, therefore, that if these sciences were to be brought to bear effectively in the co-operative research program of the Institute, a representative sample of the cultural

[1] Useful for special purposes are the massive collections of Frazer, Summer and Keller, Thurnwald, and Westermarck, such classic monographic studies as those of Hahn on domestic animals, Nieboer on slavery, Schurtz on age groupings, and Steinmetz on punishment, and such recent special treatises as that of Clements on theories of disease. These compilations, however, do not lend themselves to the determination of "adhesions" in Tylor's sense, *i.e.*, correlations within a culture indicative of functional relationships, and thus have but limited use in the testing of scientific hypotheses.

materials on the various societies of the world needed to be organized for ready accessibility on any subject. The Cross-Cultural Survey was developed, in part to fill this need, in part to facilitate a distinctive type of scientific research. —G. P. Murdock in the *American Sociological Review* (June, 1940).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SAVINGS IN GREAT BRITAIN

The causes of variations in savings are analyzed by Radice in the second volume of *Oxford Studies in Economics* (London, 1939) on the realistic foundation of all types of savings effected in Great Britain from 1922 to 1935. The analysis exhibits a high degree of familiarity with the money and capital markets such as the realistic economist might demand. To this is to be added the experience in accounting methods usually lacking in economists. The most signal feature is the mathematical presentation in regard to which the study may be safely described as a pioneer. One need not, however, go away with the idea that Radice has catered exclusively for the statistician and the mathematician who alone are competent to appraise the worth of his laborious computations. His work has much to say to the ordinary economic theorists as well. And undoubtedly it has a social message too.

The statistics for working class savings from 1922 to 1934 are derived from the figures for the funds of (1) industrial insurance, (2) industrial and provident societies, and (3) friendly societies and trade unions. Middle and upper class savings are analyzed on the strength of life insurance data.

In certain funds one of the problems consists in ascertaining what proportion belongs to the working classes. One estimate about the wage-earner's shares in various types of savings is as follows:

1. $\frac{2}{3}$ Post Office and Trustee Savings Bank deposits.
2. $\frac{1}{3}$ Post Office and Trustee Savings Bank Government stock held for depositors.
3. $\frac{1}{3}$ Building Societies' share capital and deposits.
4. $\frac{1}{3}$ Building Societies' borrowers' interest in houses mortgaged.
5. $\frac{1}{4}$ National Savings Certificates.

To the category of institutional savings analyzed in this work belong increases in (1) Post Office and Trustee Savings Banks deposits, (2) National Savings Certificates, (3) Life Insurance, (4) Building Societies' shares and deposits and (5) Mortgage repayments. Purely working class savings are excluded from this category.

That economics is fundamentally a science of classes becomes apparent at every stage of the discussion. Somewhat abstruse theoretical propositions have been established by Radice in the perspective of social classes. Of profound economic importance in the world of finance and business organization is the statement that in a community in which business savings are relatively large the proportion of income saved may be comparatively small. Equally significant from the same standpoint is the thesis that the lower income groups may save proportionately more than the higher income groups.

The higher income groups tend to save a rather smaller proportion of any increase in their incomes than the lower income groups. It is suggested that a great part of the savings of the richer classes is made for them by business houses and is, therefore, not shown as individual income in statistical publications.

During the period 1922-1934 the real incomes of persons with incomes under £250 increased continuously even during the recent depression, except for a negligible drop in 1932. Real incomes over £250 show greater sensitivity to cyclical conditions, but their rise since 1932 has been very marked.

The life insurance funds of three of the largest life insurance companies rose from £23 millions in 1922 to £35·2 m. in 1934. The gradual upward trend is ascribed to the increased use of life insurance as a form of saving, particularly by the higher income groups.

The distinction between necessaries and semi-luxuries is important. Increased taxation of necessaries is likely to depress savings less than increased taxation of semi-luxuries. The demand for semi-luxuries comes generally from the relatively prosperous wage-earners. The poorest classes among them constitute the market for the necessaries, and their savings are less elastic to change in income than those of the other section.

The demand for luxuries comes from an entirely different class. The income of that class is too high to be much affected by direct taxes, no matter of what denomination. Its savings are comparatively less affected by changes in income. The consequence is that savings are likely to be less affected by increases in luxury taxes and sur-taxes.

Radice suggests two methods for the investment of savings. The first is the investment by the government, local authorities or public boards in a rationalized and planned manner. The second method consists in an appropriate redistribution of incomes. In the first place, the income of the unemployed and the very poorest wage-earners may be increased. And in the second place, the richer class may be induced to save less in case they are guaranteed better security in sickness, employment and old age. One can see in these prescriptions a somewhat distant echo of the socialistic public finance of the Sovietic brand, much in advance of Pigou's modest transfers of wealth.

Be this as it may, the methodology of this work may with profit be assimilated by economists in general in order to improve their scientific equipment.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Why Socialism.—By Jayaprakash Narayan. Published by All-India Congress Socialist Party, Benares. Pp. 160. Price Annas 10 only.

In an age of confusing diversity of outlook in political and economic thought even a book with a considerable propagandist emphasis comes to have a more than relative or partisan interest. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, the Indian socialist, gives in this book a very able exposition of the problem of socialism and its application to India. Essentially a party pamphlet, the book will not be without some academic interest. It clearly lays down the aims and objects of the Congress Socialist party and seeks to refute all the possible arguments with which its opponents might oppose them. To those who hold that Indian culture is opposed to socialism Mr. Narayan replies: "As for Indian tradition, as far as I know them, they are not averse to the sharing of life and its privileges. It is said that individualism has always been the dominant feature of Indian civilisation and therefore the latter is opposed to socialism . . . . . Individualism has been the prominent motif in our culture only in the sense that perfection of the individual has been its ideal; never in the sense of narrow, self-seeking individualism which is the motif in capitalist society." To those who suggest that socialism is absurd in such an industrially backward country as India the author says: "As for the practicability of applying socialism to a region of industrial backwardness, it is enough to remind the readers of what the Russians are doing in some of the most backward parts of the globe. Socialism is being built up as surely in Uzbekistan as in Moscow." The Congress, Mr. Narayan says, theoretically committed itself to socialist ideals when it recommended "revolutionary change in the present economic and social structure of society." But the Congress has never tried to bring about such revolutionary changes. The economic reforms which are enumerated in the Karachi resolution appear to the author to be too paltry and timid. "The preamble and the substance of the Karachi Resolution," the author says, "are at wide variance with each other. What we are endeavouring to do is to remove this variance and bring them close together."

In Chapter III the author discusses the alternatives to socialism suggested by those who are opposed to the socialism of pure Russian variety and criticises them as mere shifts to avoid a real change. He specially considers 'the Manuite socialism' of Dr. Bhagabandas and the 'indigenous socialism' of Mahatma Gandhi. "The greater part of this talk of Indianism," the author says, "is, to my mind, insincere—a mere cloak for reaction and conservatism." The book also contains definite constructive proposals which the Congress Socialist party seeks to carry out for the political and economic liberation of India. The book certainly commends itself to those who want to study the attitude of the All-India Congress Socialist party.

H. C. Mookerjee

The Essential Unity of All Religions.—By Dr. Bhagavan Das, D.Litt. (Benares & Allahabad). The Kāshi Vidyā-Pitha, Benares. Price Rs. 2-8-0, Post free.

The work, the author tells us, has a primarily practical aim and is written with the express purpose of preparing individuals and nations for the building up of a better, more spiritual world based on fellowship, sympathy and understanding. Anticipating the sort of comment that a work of this kind is likely to evoke among scholars, the author tells the reader in the Preface that "his attempt to bring together parallel texts of the several scriptures to prove identities and similarities may, perhaps, fail to satisfy some critics, who would insist that minute differences be at least as clearly brought out as, if not more than, the resemblances," but his justification for his particular undertaking is "that the intellectual interest is not the only interest of the book," that the differences in religion have often been far too much emphasized to the prejudice of intrinsic and fundamental identities, that the only way out of our present-day *impasse* of mutual suspicion, distrust and intolerance is a spiritual approach to our present-day problems through the essential affinities and identities of our religious experience. The author very rightly points out that the aspect of differentiation and polarisation is as much an essential aspect of Life and Nature as the aspect of integration and depolarisation, but it is quite possible to exaggerate differences ignoring the fundamental unity beneath the diverse forms. The separatist tendency, the author reminds us, though inevitable, is yet subsidiary, the primary human impulse being towards unity and integration rather than towards differentiation and disintegration. This is clearly seen in the fact that the desire for originality is never sufficient by itself, that the impulse towards distinct individuality and uniqueness is never satisfied till it has obtained recognition for itself, so that everywhere side by side with the centrifugal, individualistic tendency towards differentiation, separateness and polarity, there is associated a reverse, and even more powerful, centripetal impulse towards unity and sociality, towards universality and wholeness. And therefore, while the distinctive and strictly unique elements in religions need not be discounted, there is much greater need at the present day for a synthetic, integrative view that will pierce through the surface-differences so as reach down to the essential identities and affinities in our religious experience. This need, the author tells us, has not received the care and attention it deserves at the hands of writers on comparative religion. The author's purpose in the present work is to prove the essential identity of all religions by exhaustive quotations from the sacred books of the world and thereby to make good this long-standing deficiency in the extant literature on comparative religion. The author's main thesis throughout the present work is to prove by texts from the sacred writings that every religion is essentially an experience of unity an experience which shows itself in a feeling of love and fellowship, and which gives itself practical shape in compassion, sympathy and goodwill to creatures. The author undertakes to establish his thesis by an exhaustive analysis of the intellectual, emotional and volitional constituents of our religious experience as set forth in the sacred books—an undertaking which he pursues with great thoroughness through Chapters II, III and IV and which the reader will find both instructive and interesting.

While it may be possible to disagree with the author's view that the identities are more essential than the differences—a view which practically reduces religious evolution to a meaningless process of unprofitable

repetition, it cannot be denied that the author's view of religion as a synthetic, integrative experience branching out into diverse forms is not one to be lightly brushed aside either as not agreeing with the facts or failing as a practical remedy. The author is certainly to be congratulated for having contributed something which is not merely of theoretical interest but also promises practical results of a far-reaching character. The author's proposed counteractive to the present-day intolerance through a higher spiritual approach based on fellowship and understanding sympathy may not prove as availing as an optimistic view of human nature may be disposed to assume, but it is certainly worth a more serious trial than marxism, socialism and many of the other 'isms' that we hear of now-a-days.

S. K. MAITRA

The Supreme Court in Conflict.—By Dr. Indubhushan Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D. Bina Library, 1940.

There never was a more ill conceived and ambiguously worded piece of legislation, more mischievous in its effects than the Act of 1773 for the better regulation of the affairs of India. It set up a Supreme Council with such ill defined powers that serious dissensions arose with the subordinate presidencies. Within the Supreme Council itself the Governor General was faced with hostile councillors. Lastly the Act set up a Supreme Court with such vague jurisdiction that the Court could arrogate to itself powers beyond what was intended for it, encroach upon the jurisdiction of the established judiciary and paralyse the administration. Interesting and valuable monographs have already appeared on the relations of the central government with the subordinate presidencies and on the relations of Warren Hastings with his councillors. This work, however, is the first detailed study of the relations of the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council.

It is not possible to summarise in the course of this notice the various causes of conflict between the Court and the Council or to discuss the cases in which such conflict arose. Suffice it to say that Dr. Banerjee's lucid pen has succeeded in placing very ably before us a vivid picture of the state of anarchy to which Bengal was reduced on account of the unwarranted manner in which its powers were stretched by the Supreme Court.

The author has pointed out that this is not a "complete account of the quarrel in all its details" and he has promised to give us "a fuller and more ambitious work" for which we remain in eager expectation, because in Dr. Banerjee we have a veteran researcher applying his mind to this very important topic in Anglo-Indian history.

When this more complete work is in preparation I would suggest to the author to refer among other records to the shorthand notes of the debate on the Regulating Bill in the House of Commons made by Sir Henry Cavendish which are preserved among the Egerton Manuscripts in the British Museum. As details are not available for the period in Hansard, these notes will be of invaluable help.

A. P. D. G.

Ourselves

[I. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huque.—II. The Late Mr. Jotindramohan Ray.—III. Professor Girindrasekhar Bose —IV. Appointment of a Special University Reader —V. A New D.Sc.—VI. Premchand Roychand Studentship in Science, 1939.—VII. Indian Football Association.—VIII. General Council and State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine.—IX. Exemption from Public Examinations for B.Com. Graduates.—X. The Indian Museum.—XI. Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur.—XII. Subjects for the Jubilee Research Prize in Arts and Science, 1942.—XIII. Indian Students at British Universities re Admission to Indian Universities.—XIV. D.P.H. Examination, Part I.—XV. Universities' Bureau of the British Empire.—XVI. Indian Economic Association.—XVII. Results of the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, July, 1940.—XVIII. Results of the B.Com. Examination, 1940.—XIX. Madhab Chaudhury College, Barpeta, Assam.—XX. Dates of University Examinations, 1940.—XXI. Dates of University Examinations, 1941.]

I. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huque

We are glad to announce that the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque, C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A., Speaker, Legislative Assembly, Bengal, has been re-appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University for another term of two years with effect from the 8th August, 1940.

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II. The Late Mr. Jotindramohan Ray

The Syndicate placed on record a condolence resolution expressing sorrow at the death of Mr. Jotindramohan Ray, B.A., C.E. (Roorkee), M.I.E. (Ind.). Mr. Ray was associated with the University for many years in various capacities. He was a member of the Syndicate and the Faculty of Engineering and was the Dean of the Faculty of Engineering for some time. He was also a member of the Board of Studies in Engineering and various important Committees of the University. By his death the University has lost one of its sincere workers and well-wishers.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate conveyed their sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

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III. Professor Girindrasekhar Bose

Professor Girindrasekhar Bose, D.Sc., M.B., whose term of Fellowship expired on the 21st May, 1940, has been re-nominated

to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University. He has been attached to the Faculties of Science and Medicine and appointed a member of the Boards of Studies and Committees with which he had been previously associated.

* * *

IV. Appointment of a Special University Reader

Dr. H. J. Bhaba, D.Sc., has been appointed a Special University Reader to deliver a course of ten lectures on "Cosmic Rays." The dates of the lectures will be announced to the public through the Press.

* * *

V. A New D.Sc.

Mr. Manohar Ray, M.Sc., who submitted a thesis entitled "Studies in Fluid Motion" in support of his candidature for the Degree of Doctor of Science, has been admitted to the Doctorate. His thesis was examined by a Board consisting of the following experts: Prof. S. N. Bose, M.Sc., Prof. G. I. Taylor, F.R.S., and Prof. E. T. Whittaker, F.R.S.

We congratulate Dr. Ray on his success.

* * *

VI. Premchand Roychand Studentship in Science, 1939

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Science for the year 1939 has been awarded to Mr. Bimalchandra Mukherjee, M.A. Mr. Mukherjee, whose thesis was recommended for the award by the Board of Examiners, wrote on the "Theory of Relativity and Cosmology."

* * *

VII. Indian Football Association

In accordance with a resolution passed by the Indian Football Association that two members should be co-opted to its Governing Body from the University, the Syndicate has appointed the under-mentioned gentlemen to act as representatives of the University on

the Governing Body of the I F. A.: Mr Satish Chandra Ghosh, M.A., Inspector of Colleges, Calcutta University, and Mr. Umaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L.

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VIII. General Council and State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine

Dr. B. C. Roy, who was originally nominated to represent the University on the General Council and State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, having vacated his seat, the University has appointed Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., to be its nominee in place of Dr. B. C. Roy.

* * *

IX. Exemption from Public Examinations for B.Com. Graduates

The Auditor-General of India has informed our University through the Inter-University Board that B.Com. graduates of our University, who have passed the examination in the 1st or 2nd division with Accountancy as their special subject, as well as M.A.'s in Commerce who hold a first class or second class degree, having passed in Auditing as one of their subjects, will be considered eligible for appointment to the establishment of Divisional Accountants without further examination. This concession, it has been stated, will hold good until the new scheme, now under consideration, comes into operation in 1943. The University has requested the Inter-University Board to move the Auditor-General that, in the scheme of recruitment being prepared by him, B.Com.'s and M.A.'s (in Commerce) of this University should be granted the same concession which they now enjoy.

* * *

X. The Indian Museum

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor has been appointed a Trustee of the Indian Museum as successor to Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., whose office terminated on the 8th July, 1940.

XI. Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur

The Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur, has been affiliated to the Calcutta University to the B. Met. (Degree) standard with effect from the 1st June, 1940.

* * *

XII. Subjects for the Jubilee Research Prize in Arts and Science, 1942

The following subjects have been selected for the Jubilee Research Prize in Arts and Science for the year 1942:—

Arts

(1) The Village in Bengali Literature.

(2) State Support to the Cultural Life of India during Muslim Rule.

Science

(1) Standardisation of Illumination, with particular reference to width, surface and traffic condition of modern road in a city.

(2) A Geographical study of the Distribution of Population in the Deltaic regions of Bengal.

* * *

XIII. Indian Students at British Universities *re* Admission to Indian Universities

In response to a request made by the Government of India to admit students now prosecuting studies at British Universities to our University, the period spent by them at colleges abroad being taken into consideration, the University has informed Government that it will take into account the period of study of students of this University at English Universities for admission to its examinations and that orders will be passed after considering the facts of each case.

* * *

XIV. D.P.H. Examination, Part I

A special D.P.H. Examination, Part I, for candidates who weer unsuccessful at the examination in February, 1940, was held on and from Thursday, the 11th July, 1940.

XV. Universities' Bureau of the British Empire

Our University has nominated the undermentioned gentlemen for election to the Executive Committee of the Universities' Bureau of the British Empire for the year 1940-41 :—

1. Sir William Ewart Greaves, Kt., M.A., D.L., Barrister-at-Law.
2. R. Littlehailes, Esq., C.I.E.
3. H. L. O. Garret, Esq., C.I.E.

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XVI. Indian Economic Association

The Twenty-fourth Annual Conference of the Association will be held at Mysore under the auspices of the Mysore University during the last week of December, 1940.

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XVII. Results of the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, July, 1940

Three candidates only appeared at the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, held in July, 1940, all of whom have been declared to have passed.

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XVIII. Results of the B.Com. Examination, 1940

The following is a statement of results of the B.Com. Examination, 1940.

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination, 1940, was 574, of whom 9 were absent. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 565. The number of candidates who passed the examination was 300, of whom 3 passed in the First Division, and 297 in the Second Division. The percentage of passes was 53. The percentage of passes was 59·49 in 1939.

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XIX. Madhab Chaudhury College, Barpeta, Assam

The Madhab Chaudhury College, Barpeta, Assam, has been affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Vernacular (Bengali

and Assamese), Logic, History, Sanskrit, Persian, Mathematics and Elements of Civics and Economics to the I.A. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1940-41.

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XX. Dates of University Examinations, 1940

The commencing dates of the following examinations have been fixed as detailed below :—

1.	Teachers' Training Certificate (General)	16th September, 1940.
2.	Teachers' Training Certificate (Geography)	23rd September, 1940.
3.	English Teachership Certificate ...	Do.
4.	Diploma in Spoken English ...	11th December, 1940.
5.	M.B. (Preliminary Sc., 1st, 2nd, 3rd, Final)	25th November, 1940.
6.	D.P.H., Part 1	Do.
7.	Law (Preliminary, Inter., Final) ...	9th December, 1940.
8.	M.L.	Do.

XXI. Dates of University Examinations, 1941

The commencing dates of the undermentioned examinations to be held in 1941 have been fixed as detailed below :—

(1)	Matriculation Examination.....		Monday, the 10th March.
(2)	I.A. & I.Sc.	,,	Wednesday, 12th February.
(3)	B.A. & B.Sc.	,,	Wednesday, the 19th March.
(4)	L.T. & B.T.	,,	Wednesday, the 16th April.